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THE

CHURCH OF SCOTLAND,

PAST AND PRESENT:

ITS HISTORY, ITS RELATION TO THE LAW AND THE STATE,

ITS DOCTRINE, RITUAL, DISCIPLINE, AND PATRIMONY.

EDITED BY

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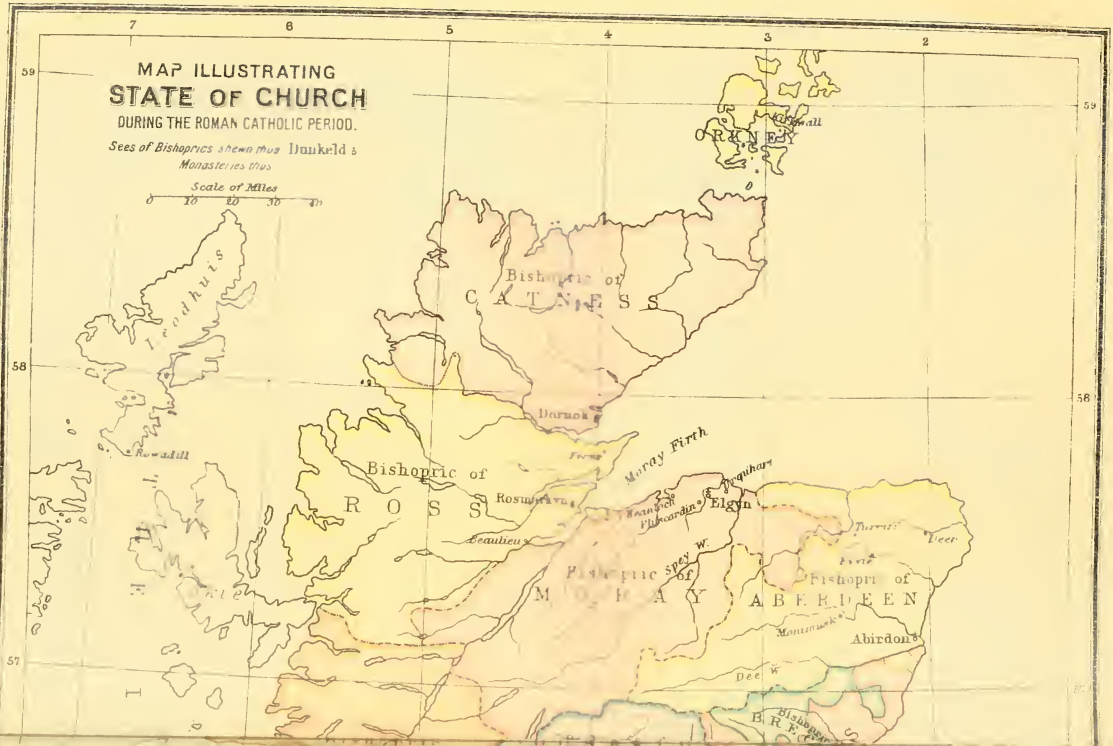
ABERDEEN CATHEDRAL.


MAP ILLUSTRATING
STATE OF CHURCH
DURING THE ROMAN CATHOLIC PERIOD.
Sees of Bishoprics shewn thus
Monasteries thus
Scale of Miles
0 10 20 30 40
ORKNEY
Bishopric of
CAITHNESS
Bishopric of
ROSS
Bishopric of
MORAY
Bishopric of
ABERDEEN
Lewis
Dornoch
Moray Firth
Rosmarkie
Beauly
Elgin
Spey R.
Deveron R.
Aberdeen
Dee R.
Montrose
Brechin
Bishopric of
BRECHIN
59
58
57
7
6
5
4
3
2

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THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

BOOKS II.-III.

THE CHURCH
FROM THE REIGN OF MALCOLM CANMORE
TO THE REFORMATION;

AND

FROM THE REFORMATION TO THE
REVOLUTION OF 1688.

BY

REV. JAMES RANKIN, D.D.,

AUTHOR OF "HANDBOOK OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND;" "CHARACTER STUDIES IN THE OLD TESTAMENT;" "THE YOUNG CHURCHMAN," &c., &c.

BOOK II.

THE SCOTTISH CHURCH FROM QUEEN MARGARET TO THE REFORMATION.

CHAPTER IX.

Character of the Celtic Church preceding Queen Margaret—Personal history of Queen Margaret—The successors of Malcolm III. and Queen Margaret: Alexander I., 1107–1124; David I., 1124–1153; William I. (the Lion), 1165–1214—Scottish sees as at 1200—Religious houses before 1200—Terms and principles of the new Roman system—The clergy and religious houses. Alexander II. and III., 1214–1249–1286: Ancient code of canons—Bishop Bernham of St. Andrews, his decrees of 1242. Alexander III., 1249–1286: Stages of the Papal claims on Scotland—Alexander's heir, the Maid of Norway. The Forty Years' War of Scottish Independence—Claimants for the throne, John Baliol and Robert Bruce—Scotland overrun by Edward I. in 1296—Checked by Wallace—Scotland again overrun by Edward I. in 1303—Coronation of Robert I. (the Bruce) in 1306—Independence of Scotland recognized by treaty, 1328. David II., 1329–1370: First collegiate church in 1342. Robert II., 1370–1390, first of the Stuart kings. Robert III., 1390-1406: Regency in 1398, Duke of Rothesay, and in 1402, Robert, Duke of Albany—Regency of Murdac, Duke of Albany, in 1419.

In the history of Scottish Christianity few dates are of greater importance than the arrival in Scotland and marriage of Margaret of England to King Malcolm III. at Dunfermline. The marriage is variously assigned to 1068, 1069, and 1070. Before 1070 there was no Roman Church in Scotland, although Scottish Christianity had of course a great many rites and ceremonies in common with Rome, and Scottish churchmen in not a few cases had visited Rome.

The difference between the Roman and the Scottish Churches consisted in such matters as these:—The Scottish Church while acknowledging many of the saints common to Christendom, especially those of the East, had in addition a very extensive local Calendar, deeply venerated, which outnumbered the Roman element. It had also peculiarities in a

frontal instead of a coronal tonsure for monks; in a shorter Lenten Fast, which made up the forty days by including Sundays, and began on Monday instead of on Wednesday; in a different time for Easter, dependent on a more ancient method of reckoning; in the absence of special or obligatory Easter Communion; in the regular celebration of the Holy Supper with what were by Romanists called "barbarous rites." The most marked features of the Scottish Church were in its government and orders, where monasteries took the place of dioceses, where abbots were above bishops, where bishops were without dioceses, where ordination was conferred occasionally, if not habitually, by one single bishop instead of three, where bishops were too numerous to be diocesan, and where (latterly at least) abbots were frequently married, making church lands hereditary in their families.

Between the marriage of Queen Margaret in 1070 and the death of her son, David I., in 1153, there took place a fierce struggle of a new with an older form of Christianity, wherein the new prevailed, being zealously supported by the Anglicized royal family and new Norman nobility, who revolutionized in this country both secular property and church government. When this struggle had ended in the overthrow of the ancient Celtic Church, the violence was hidden, or attempted to be hidden, by appropriating the old saints, as if there had been no difference or break between their Christianity and that of St. Margaret and St. David.

Queen Margaret—called, from *margarita*, "the Pearl of Scotland"—was a Saxon princess of Northumbria, granddaughter of Edmund Ironside (+1017), and niece to St. Edward the Confessor (+1066). When William the Conqueror began his reign he forced the Saxon princes and nobles to flee to Scotland in 1068. Edgar Atheling,[1] his mother Agatha, and his two sisters, Margaret and Christina, took refuge with King Malcolm III., called Canmore (=Great Head, born 1024, king 1057). The refugees landed near Dunfermline, at St. Margaret's Hope, and the king met his future wife at a great stone on the roadside, ever since called St. Margaret's Stone, between Dunfermline and the shore.

[1] *Adel*, noble, and *ing*, son of.

Margaret, at Dunfermline, laboured in peace and piety, founding a monastery there in 1075, and rebuilding the church of Iona. She restored Sunday observance by making Sunday field-work illegal. She also procured more regular and frequent celebration of the Lord's Supper, and purified marriage by firmly stopping it within the prohibited degrees. The brave king could not read, but he rejoiced in her knowledge, and helped her plans, kissing often her books of devotion, and furnishing their jewelled binding. Each morning she prepared food for nine orphans, and on her knees fed them. Nightly she washed the feet of six paupers. Her fastings were frequent and prolonged (to the injury of her health), and in Lent she read the whole Psalter twice in every twenty-four hours. With all this austerity she dressed richly as a queen, kept a large retinue, and used dishes of silver and gold for her plain food. She was careful of her children's education, and had them wholesomely whipped for their faults. Thus her influence and policy descended through her three sons who reigned—Edgar, 1097–1107; Alexander I., 1107–1124; and especially David I., 1124–1153; whereby really *one devout mind* moulded Scotland ecclesiastically for eighty-three years — from St. Margaret's marriage to St. David's death (1070–1153).

Her husband and her eldest son fell when besieging Alnwick, 13th November, 1093. "How fares it with the king and my Edward?" was her first question asked of her son Edgar on his return. The tidings proved her own death. "Praise and blessing be to Thee, Almighty God, that Thou hast been pleased to make me endure so bitter anguish in the hour of my departure, thereby, as I trust, to purify me in some measure from the corruption of my sins; and Thou, Lord Jesus, who, through the will of the Father, hast enlivened the world by Thy death, oh deliver me." Pronouncing *deliver me*, she expired, in the Castle of Edinburgh, 16th November, 1093, holding in her hands her favourite and famous Black Rood—a cross of gold with a Christ of ebony—which gave its name to Holyrood Abbey. In 1249 she was canonized, and next year the relics of Malcolm and Margaret were buried in the same tomb at Dunfermline. The Queen's Ferry became the name of the rocks where pilgrims embarked to visit the shrine of St.

Margaret and St. David. It is a just recognition of the claims of "the Pearl of Scotland," when in our own day we have Queen Margaret colleges.

The character of Queen Margaret (like that of Columba, David I., and Leighton) is one of the rare points of unity among historians of all churches and politics. Her life has been written by her confessor, Turgot, prior of Durham, and afterwards Bishop of St. Andrews. This biography is a most precious contemporary record, with one transparent fault—of too many superlatives, which is a common drawback to ecclesiastical biography written by contemporaries and friends. In early youth the Saxon princess had for her instructor the great Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, who, in a letter quoted by Bellesheim,[1] says:—"Dear queen, the space of a letter permits not my telling how my heart overflows with joy on reading your pages." The author of "Celtic Scotland"[2] thus warmly characterizes the good queen:—"There is perhaps no more beautiful character recorded in history than that of Margaret. For purity of motives, for an earnest desire to benefit the people among whom her lot was cast, for a deep sense of religion and great personal piety, for the unselfish performance of whatever duty lay before her, and for entire self-abnegation, she is unsurpassed, and the chroniclers of the time all bear witness to her exalted character."

On the deaths of Malcolm III. and Queen Margaret, in 1093, there followed a period of indecision, during which Donald Bane was *quasi* king for a few months, and then Duncan, an illegitimate son of Malcolm, reigned two years. The real succession to Malcolm III. lay with his three sons by Margaret, who followed each other thus:—Edgar, 1097–1107; Alexander I., 1107–1124; David I., 1124–1153. If to these reigns we add two more, which carry us to the end of the century, viz. Malcolm IV. (David I.'s grandson), 1153–1165, and William I., the Lion (the last king's younger brother), 1165–1214, we have before us all that is necessary in order to see the complete settlement of the new religious order, not only in its distinctive principles, but also in its chief seats of rule and founders of endowment.

Three of these kings exercised an influence so potent and

[1] I. 245. [2] II. 344.

beneficial that some special preliminary account of their career is here required.

Alexander I. was a younger son of Malcolm and Margaret. His queen, Sibylla, was the daughter of King Henry I. of England, and reposes in the convent isle at the north end of Loch Tay. In the seventeen years of his reign Alexander, besides quelling insurrection and giving civil stability to his kingdom, laboured with singular zeal to found and rear a church distinct and independent from that of England, but at the same time similar and friendly. In fact, his whole reign was spent in watchful resistance to the claims of both York and Canterbury, which he alternately played the one against the other. His reverence for his mother, both personally and in church polity, appeared in his appointment of her confessor and biographer Turgot to the see of St. Andrews. Turgot's consecration gave rise to questions as to the relation of Scottish to English bishops. The king wished the consecration to be effected by a Scots bishop, the Bishop of Orkney, and the Bishop of Durham, and to take place at York. Against this the Archbishop of Canterbury reclaimed. At last the ceremony took place at York, the Archbishop of York presiding, but with express reservation of all questions of supremacy. Even on Turgot the king kept so keen a watch that the bishop was on the point of resignation, when his death occurred at Durham in 1115. Hereon ensued a five years' vacancy of the Scottish primacy, at the close of which negotiations by Alexander for Eadmer, a monk of Canterbury, took place with the Archbishop and King Henry; but as these stipulated for Eadmer to be consecrated by the Archbishop of Canterbury, with a more than latent view to claims over the Scottish Church, Alexander refused his consent. Eadmer gave up his nomination, and in 1124 Robert, prior of Scone, and an Englishman, was appointed. The king, however, died before Robert's consecration, which occurred in 1128, when the Archbishop of York presided; the claims of York and rights of St. Andrews being again left undefined, and expressly reserved. Alexander died at Stirling in 1124. The most romantic of his church benefactions was his endowment of a priory at Inchcolm, where he and his courtiers took refuge in a storm, and

lived for three days on milk and shell-fish furnished by a hermit.

David, the youngest of the six sons of Malcolm III. and Margaret, was born c. 1080, and after his father's death, in 1093, spent several years in England at the court of Henry I., who in 1100 married David's sister Matilda. In 1107 David became Prince of Cumbria (= Cumberland, Dumfries, Roxburgh, Selkirk, Peebles, Lanark, Dunbarton, Renfrew, Ayr, and part of Lothian). In 1110 he married Matilda, widow of the Earl of Northampton, who held not only her husband's property but also that of her father, Waltheof, earl of Huntingdon, whence David is often called Earl of Huntingdon. His Cumbrian princedom led him to revive and refound the see of Glasgow, and to plant monks at Selkirk, which became the seed plot of Kelso and other Border abbeys. After coming to the throne in 1124, his English connection by marriage and lordships involved him in wars in 1135, 1138, and 1141, in which he was unsuccessful, especially in 1138, when he lost the battle of the Standard, fighting against King Stephen and Archbishop Thurston. Quitting this external and fruitless strife the king now resumed his early and better occupation, and devoted himself wholly, and with glorious success, to real Scottish work in castles, burghs, commerce, law, cathedrals, and abbeys. Extensive and liberal though his church plans were, the king acted neither unwisely nor wastefully; almost every one of his foundations was based on a revival of more ancient sites and half-alienated lands. He gathered the old vestiges, and added enough of his own to mark a new era. Nor could any better method have been adopted in that age than thus to plant over Scotland, especially on its troubled border, houses dedicated to peace and worship, learning, agriculture, gardening, flocks, and herds. David's domestic life was singularly pure and devout, in unison with his early years under his sainted mother at Dunfermline. He lost his wife Matilda some years after his accession. He lost his son, Prince Henry, in 1152, but the prince was married to Ada, daughter of the Earl of Surrey, who left three sons, of whom two, Malcolm and William, afterwards were kings of Scotland, while the third, David, became Earl of Huntingdon. Ailred, the king's biographer, was Prince Henry's instructor and com-

panion. A fine influence on David's life and work came through St. Waltheof, in 1148, abbot of Melrose, who was a true saint and of royal race, being the younger son of Queen Matilda of England by her first husband, the Earl of Northampton. St. Waltheof had been educated at David's court, and as a favourite personal attendant used to carry the king's bow. The good king rested from his labours at Carlisle on 24th May, 1153. "Often have I seen with my own eyes," says Ailred,[1] "when he was ready to set out for the chase, and his feet were already in the stirrup, how at the voice of a poor man he would return, and patiently listen to his complaint." George Buchanan[2] says of him: "David departed carrying with him such affection of all that they seemed as if bereft not of a king, but of a most excellent father. For through all his days he had been such as we read no equal of in all our chronicles, yet, for several years preceding his end, so diligently prepared he for his soul's departure that he greatly increased the veneration he had before won. If men were to set themselves to draw the image of a good king, they would fall short of what David showed himself throughout the whole course of his life." Ailred says that David found *three* and left *nine* bishoprics. The three which he found were St. Andrews, Dunkeld, and Moray. The other six which he founded were Glasgow, Aberdeen, Ross, Caithness, Brechin, and Dunblane. A bull of Pope Clement III. to William the Lion in 1188 names these nine Scottish sees, and is silent as to the other four, because then not Scottish or not yet erected—for Galloway was subject to York till 1472; Orkney to Drontheim till 1477; the Isles to Drontheim till 1498; and Lismore was not separated from Dunkeld till 1200.

William I., the Lion, reigned 1165–1214, having succeeded his elder brother Malcolm IV. (1153–1165), who came to the throne at twelve and died at twenty-four, leaving naturally no very definite record of work in State or Church, but keeping up the religious tendencies of his race. To King Malcolm, however, belong three religious foundations—viz. the Cistercian monastery of Cupar in Angus, at the suggestion of St. Waltheof; a nunnery at Manuel, near Linlithgow; and a hospital at Soltra.

[1] Quoted by Dr. Grub, i. 282. B. vii. rex 91.

Foundations that belong to his reign are—Paisley, Coldstream, Eccles, Haddington, North Berwick, Sandale, Lincluden, constituting in all a liberal contribution to the Church by the king and his nobles for a twelve years' reign of a boy.

The reign of his brother William the Lion was eventful as well as long. In 1174 the king was surprised and captured in a mist near Alnwick, and after being sent to Normandy for safety, was released by Henry II. after the treaty of Falaise. This shameful treaty bound the Scots king to absolute homage for all Scotland as a vassal of England; stipulated for five Scots strongholds—viz. Edinburgh, Stirling, Berwick, Jedburgh, and Roxburgh, to be garrisoned by English troops at the expense of the Scots king; and provided for twenty Scots nobles to be held as hostages. Within two years the treaty of Falaise was revoked by Richard I. for payment of 10,000 marks. The independence of the Church was better managed at Falaise, for the representatives of the Scottish clergy only "agreed that the English Church should have such supremacy over Scotland as in right it ought to have, and promised that they would not oppose the lawful claims of the English Church." The pawky and patriotic men who devised these innocuous terms, which decided and committed to nothing, were Richard, bishop of St. Andrews; Richard, bishop of Dunkeld; Galfrid, abbot of Dunfermline; and Herbert, prior of Coldingham. William founded the great abbey of Aberbrothic in 1178, dedicating it strangely to St. Thomas à Becket, whom, according to Bishop Leslie, he had known as a child, and who had fallen a victim to Henry II. in 1170, the origin of strife being Becket's zeal to put the Church above the King of England. In 1199 in this reign occurred the outrage of Earl Harold of Orkney against Bishop John of Caithness at Scrabster, when the tongue of the captive bishop was cut out. The report of this savagery drew forth a strong letter from Pope Innocent III., and in a more practical way led the king to make an expedition to the north to bring that district more directly under the Scottish sceptre.[1] Prosecuting, like his clergy, the design of an independent Scottish Church, William resisted Pope Alexander III. as to the appointment of John Scot to the see of St. Andrews;

[1] Hill Burton, ii. 11.

and the timely occurrence of the Pope's death enabled the king to carry his point with the next Pope, Lucius III., who, being new in his chair, needed friends. William made still further gain in 1188 from Clement III., in a bull confirming the independence of the Church of Scotland as against both York and Canterbury. The bull of Clement III. was confirmed by Innocent III. in 1208, and by Honorius III. in 1218.[1] This independence as against England was won, however, at the cost of closer ties to Rome. It is in this famous bull (*Cum Universi*), as already referred to, that the *nine* Scottish sees then existing are specially named. The king died in December, 1214, at Stirling, and was buried in his own monastery of Arbroath.

The position of the Scottish Church and the progress of its endowment from the time of Malcolm and Margaret to the close of the reign of William the Lion may be summarized in the three lists following, which are arranged chronologically:—

I. SCOTTISH SEES AS AT 1200.

St. Andrews—Bishop Kellach I., 890; Bishop Turgot, 1107.
Glasgow—David I., when Earl of Huntingdon. Bishop John Achaius, 1115.
Dunkeld—Alexander I. Abbot Cormac, first bishop, 1127.
Aberdeen—David I. Bishop Nectan, 1125.
Moray—Alexander I. Bishop Gregory, 1115, at Birnie. Cathedral at Elgin, 1224.
Brechin—David I., 1150. Last Culdee abbot, 1219.
Dunblane—David I., 1140. Endowed, c. 1220. Cathedral, c. 1240.
Ross—David I., 1124. Earlier see in 716.
Caithness—Malcolm III., c. 1066; also David I., c. 1126.
Galloway—Fergus of Galloway, 1143. Subject to York till 1472.
Lismore or Argyle, separated from Dunkeld by the Pope, 1200.
Isles—838, subject to Drontheim till 1498.
Orkney, c. 1064, at Birsa; 1102, at Kirkwall. Subject to Drontheim till 1477.

II. GREATER RELIGIOUS HOUSES BEFORE 1200.

Dunfermline, 1075. Malcolm III. 1128, David I.
Coldingham, 1098. King Edgar.
Kelso, 1128. David I.; at Selkirk, 1113, by Prince David.

[1] See Bellesheim, i. 330. Preparation had been made for this bull as far back as Pope Alexander III., who, in a letter of July 30, 1176, forbade the Archbishop of York to exercise his metropolitan rights in Scotland until the matter was decided at Rome (Bellesheim, i. 321).

Scone, 1114. Alexander I.
Jedburgh, 1118 and 1147. Prince and King David.
St. Andrew's Priory, c. 1120. Alexander I.
Holyrood, 1128. David I.
Melrose, 1136. David I.
Newbotle, 1140. David I.
Kilwinning, 1140. Hugh de Morville.
Dundrennan, 1142. Fergus, lord of Galloway.
Cambuskenneth, 1147. David I.
Dryburgh, 1150. David I. and Hugh de Morville.
Kynloss, 1150. David I.
Restennot, 1159. David I.
Paisley, 1163. Walter Fitz Alan, the first Steward.
Cupar in Angus, 1164. Malcolm IV.
Arbroath, 1178. William I., the Lion.
Lindores, 1178. David, earl Huntingdon, brother of William I.
Inchaffray, 1198 and 1200. Gilbert, earl of Stratherne.

III. SMALLER RELIGIOUS HOUSES BEFORE 1200.

Monymusk, 1080. Malcolm III. 1179, Roger, earl of Buchan.
Inchcolm, 1123. Alexander I.
Loch Tay, 1122. Alexander I.
Urquhart, 1124. David I. Cell of Dunfermline.
St. Mary's Isle, 1129. Fergus, lord of Galloway. Cell of Holyrood.
Lesmahago, 1144. David I. Cell of Kelso.
Lochleven, 1145. David I., on an older foundation.
Soulseat, 1148 (or 1125). Fergus, lord of Galloway.
Sagadul, 1150. Reginald, son of Somerled, lord of the Isles.
North Berwick Nunnery, 1154. Duncan, earl of Fife.
Soltra, 1164. Malcolm IV.
Manuel, 1156, a nunnery. Malcolm IV.
Lincluden, c. 1170. Uchtred, lord of Galloway.
Coldstream and Eccles, 1143 and 1155. Earl Cospatrick.
Haddington Nunnery, 1178. Countess Ada, mother of Malcolm IV.
Mauchlyn, 1165. Walter, son of Alan the Steward. Cell of Melrose.
Canonby, 1165. Turgot de Rossedal.
Fyvie, 1179. Fergus, earl of Buchan.
Holywood, 1180. Dercongal, lord of Kirkconnel. Cell of Soulseat.
Tongland, 1125–60 and 1189. Fergus, lord of Galloway.
Glenluce, 1192. Roland, son of Uchtred, lord of Galloway.
Rosneath, 1199. Earl of Lennox. Cell of Cambuskenneth first, then of Paisley in 1225.

TERMS AND PRINCIPLES OF THE NEW ROMAN SYSTEM.

I. The Secular Clergy in Dioceses and Parishes.

The religious foundations thus set up between 1070 and 1200 involved an ecclesiastical nomenclature partly new, and where

not new greatly extended and specialized. It has been too common in reformed Scotland, for three centuries, to pass over ancient ecclesiastical terms in a summary and contemptuous way; but the subject is one that will repay careful study, for it carries in it much true wisdom fitted to improve the Church of the present day when judiciously investigated and fairly considered in its reasons.

One of the first points of interest and contrast with the previous Celtic or Culdee system is in the matter of church buildings of all kinds. The change was far greater than in mere architectural style. Later changes, from the round to the pointed arch, from the early simple Gothic to the later ornate style, and from that in turn to the perpendicular, were as nothing to one another compared with the change at one bound from the old use of rude land stones, occasionally touched with a hammer, to the use of quarried freestone, regularly dressed and laid in even courses with skilfully prepared lime. Until Queen Margaret's and King David's time the only churches traceable in this Roman style are St. Martin's at Whithorn, Restinoth in Forfarshire, and Rosmarkie in Ross-shire. Surviving examples of the Celtic style are to be seen in the following buildings (all of which are dealt with in Anderson's "Scotland in Early Times")—Teampull Bennachad, in Lewis; Tempull Ronan, in North Rona; Beehive Cells, in Eilan na Naoimh; Kirkapoll, in Tiree; Lybster, in Reay; Oratory on Inchcolm. Contrasted with these primitive works, the earliest parts of Dunfermline Abbey and Glasgow Cathedral, especially in its glorious crypt, all at once enter into competition with the architectural achievements of the most gifted periods. This architectural argument alone, even though it had no adminicles of proof in orders, ritual, or calendar, would suffice to establish a thorough distinctness, as regards church government and spirit, of the Scottish Christianity preceding and that following Queen Margaret.

So far as concerns Scotland, it may be said that the cathedral, alike in its architecture and system of clerics, like the full-grown and full-armed Minerva from the brain of Jove, sprang into existence complete and at once, early in the twelfth century. Its ground plan was that of a Latin cross, and the cross was

so placed, by a system of what was called orientation, that the head of the cross, containing the high altar, pointed due east. This being settled, the main door fell to be in the west end, and it was usually flanked and emphasized by two towers or stair turrets. The two arms of the cross formed uniformly a north and south transept. The long line of the cross was divided into two portions, that on the east of the transepts being the chancel or choir, furnished with stall seats for clergy and choir; while the nave, which extended from the transepts to the great western door, held the main body of the worshippers, especially on occasion of the chief festivals of the church year. On great days the transepts as well as the nave were filled by the worshippers. In most cases the nave had side aisles; so had the transepts one side aisle, if not two; and so in larger cathedrals had the choir. These side aisles were of great use as well as beauty, because they served for processions to perambulate the building within, and also furnished to people and clergy ready ingress and egress for every portion of the church, without disturbing the main body of the worshippers.

Certain buildings or rooms had to be provided in each cathedral: a *chapter-house*, for the business meetings of the clergy; a *vestry*, or sacrarium, for robing in, and holding the church plate, ornaments, and relics; a *choristers' vestry* and song school; a *Lady chapel*, dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, often placed behind the high altar. The frequency of services, and the number of clergy and assistants required, necessitated the placing of clerks' houses or manses as near the cathedral as possible, which usually grouped themselves round a court known as the Cathedral Close. The house of the dean was called the deanery; that of the bishop was the castle or palace. Each house had its name either from the office of the clergyman who resided in it, or from the land that formed the endowment of the office under the name of prebend or canonry. Here comes in the application of "toft" and "croft." A toft in a village or town corresponded to a stance for house, and small garden for table vegetables; a croft was often on the outskirts of the village or town, and furnished meal to the priest or fodder to his cow.

The usual cathedral staff or dignitaries, besides the bishop,

comprised the *dean*, who held special rule over the cathedral church as the bishop had over the diocese; the *precentor*, who superintended the musical part of the service, ruling the choir; the *chancellor*, who attended to all matters of law and writs; the *treasurer*, who received and disbursed money; the *sacrist*, who had charge of church vestments, plate, ornaments, and relics; and *prebendaries*, or canons, who had special endowments which entitled them to a place in the cathedral chapter, which transacted certain ecclesiastical business with the jurisdiction of a regular court. Larger dioceses, in addition to a dean, had an archdeacon, often called *oculus episcopi*, who possessed a jurisdiction delegated by the bishop over a part of his diocese; thus an archdeacon was *higher* than a dean. St. Andrews, Glasgow, and Orkney were the only sees that had archdeaconries. The primatial see had archdeaconries of St. Andrews and Lothian; Glasgow had archdeaconries of Glasgow and Teviotdale; Orkney had archdeaconries of Orkney and Tingwall. The dean again often delegated part of his functions to a *sub-dean*, as the precentor also did to a *sub-chanter*, or the sacrist to a *sub-sacrist*.

Dioceses were subdivided into deaneries, of which St. Andrews had eight—viz. Fife, Fotherick, Gowrie, Angus, Mearns, Linlithgow, Lothian, and Merse. Glasgow had nine—viz. Nith, Annandie, Kyle and Cunningham, Carrick, Lennox, Rutherglen, Lanark, Peebles, Teviotdale. Aberdeen had first three, then five—viz. Mar, Buchan, and Garioch, to which were added Buyn and Aberdeen. Moray had four—viz. Elgin, Inverness, Strathspey, Strabolgy. Dunkeld had four—viz. (1) Athol and Drumalbane, (2) Angus, (3) Fife, Fotheric, and Stratherne, (4) South of Forth. Lismore had four—viz. Kintyre, Glassary, Lorn, Morvern. Galloway had three—viz. Desnes, Farines, and Rainnes. The five remaining sees—Brechin, Dunblane, Ross, Caithness, and The Isles—had no *rural* deaneries, but only a cathedral dean.

Among parishes there were two grades, the higher under the name of *rectory*, the priest of which drew his tithes directly on his own account, whereas the simpler vicarage had only such part of the tithes as might be apportioned by the bishop or cathedral dignitary or religious house who held the living

in patronage, and discharged the duties of the cure through a cheap substitute. Humbler than either rectory or vicarage was a *chaplainry*, here and there erected on a special endowment of land so as to meet the wants of outlying districts.

Bishop Keith[1] gives a list of 262 rectories or parsonages that continued independent down to the Reformation, whereas above 600 churches were in the hands of bishops or monasteries.

The history of the erection, endowment, and subdivision of parishes is a subject of great interest, and very closely associated with the history of the erection and endowment of dioceses. The origin of many of our older parishes is undoubtedly traceable to church sites or districts already existing in connection with Celtic worship. Just as the more prominent of these suggested the locality and name of the new bishoprics in most, or rather all cases, so did the smaller Celtic chapels serve as the nucleus of an improved and more definitely organized parochial unit. "There is abundant documentary evidence of the existence of parochial divisions in the twelfth century, but none before that period. In a charter granted by David I. to the monastery of Dunfermline, he confirms to the Church of the Holy Trinity the whole *parish* of Fotherif. In 1144 the Bishop of Glasgow confirmed to the monks of Kelso the church of Lesmahago, with its whole *parish*. In a deed of agreement which was made at Stirling, in the presence of King David and his son, between the Bishop of St. Andrews and the Abbot of Dunfermline, there is mention made of the *parochial church* of Eccles, and the words *parochia* and *parochialis* occur in other parts of the document."[2]

The name Eccles, above applied to the original church of Stirling dedicated to St. Modan, was also applied to St. Ninians, near Stirling, while Eccles Brec, *Varia Capella*, or the Speckled Kirk, was Falkirk, and near that again was Ecclesmachan=kirk of St. Machan. In the parish of Dron, near Perth, was Ecclesmagirdle=kirk of Magidrin, or St. Adrian, ridiculously corrupted to Axmagirdle. There was an Eccles in the Merse, besides Ecclefechan=kirk of St. Fechan, in

[1] "Church and State of Scot.," Book iii., appendix, in a passage reprinted by Connell on Tithes, iii. 15.

[2] Cunningham, i. 113.

Dumfries. In each of these cases the *ecclesia*, or eccles, carries us back to Celtic sites that afterwards became parish churches in the new arrangement initiated by Queen Margaret and her sons. Glen Eagles, near Crieff junction, is Glen Eccles, or the Kirk Glen, in disguise; compare in Kirkcudbrightshire, Terregles=terra ecclesiæ, and in Orkney, Eglishey=ecclesiæ insula.

The parish of Ednam, near Kelso, has been selected by three writers, Sir John Connell, Cosmo Innes, and Cunningham, as an early and typical instance of the creation of parishes. King Edgar, c. 1100, granted the wild land of Ednaham to an Englishman named Thor. Thor reclaimed the district and erected a church, which was dedicated to St. Cuthbert. Edgar endowed it first with a ploughgate of land, and then with the tithes of Thor's manor. Next, Thor granted the superiority of the whole to the monks of Durham for the "weal" of certain souls. In the diocese of Glasgow is a group of at least six parishes of special rank for recognized antiquity—viz. Hoddam, Renfrew, Govan, Cadzow, Borthwick, and Glasgow itself. Each of these has its root in the Celtic period. Another group of four parishes may be named in illustration of the method by which the parishes of Scotland were made up to about 1000 in number, by subdividing some of the largest of the more ancient parochial districts. Out of Kynef were formed Bervie, Catterline, and Barras. Out of St. Cuthbert's were formed Corstorphine, Liberton, Duddingstone, Canongate, North Leith, besides half-a-dozen old chapelries. Stobo was a *plebania*, with Lyne, Broughton, Kingledoors, Dawic, and Drummelzier under it. Kinkell, in Garioch, was an *abthane*, which included Kintore, Kenmay, Dyce, Skene, Drumblade, Kinnellar, and Monkegie. Another group of large old outstanding parishes is seen in the cases of Kinghorne magna and parva, Eccles in the Merse, Roseneath, Inveravon in Strathspey, Tain in Ross, Farr in Caithness, and Wick, which had a covey of eight chapels.

It is worthy of note that previous to the currency of the word *parochia* there existed an older native word, *shire*, *scir*, or *skcir*, which denoted the district attached to old Celtic churches, but which afterwards got widened and secularized to denote a county or district under a sheriff=scir-gerefa or shire-graf.

The older name survives in Skeirdustan = Kirk of St. Drostan, now included in Aberlour. In the Merse was Coldinghamshire; in Clydesdale—Machanshire, Kilbrideshire; Fife had shires of Kilrimund, Forgrund, Fothrif, Karel, &c.; Aberdeen had Clatshire, and shires of Tulynestyn, Rane, and Davyot.[1]

The boundaries of parishes in most cases coincided with the boundaries of estates, an arrangement which is still largely observable. The endowment was provided by voluntary gift, generally by the lord of the manor, and it was this fact which laid the foundation of the system of patronage, which descended with short interruptions to the year 1874. No law is traceable for the institution of endowment, but churchmen skilfully and industriously put forward the Old Testament principle of tithing or dedicating a tenth to God, which came to be almost universally adopted by landowners when erecting churches for the benefit of their families and dependants. The dates and deathbed references of many ecclesiastical donations suggest that "the pious founder," when not self-intimidated by conscience, was sometimes intimidated by purgatory, and got his *quid pro quo* in masses for the dead.

II. The Regular Clergy and Religious Houses.

Dioceses and parishes proceeded on the *pastoral* idea of the Church, whereby certain men in different grades of priesthood were set apart for the care or cure of souls, each clergyman in his own charge, larger or smaller, responsible for the population of his district. The monastic idea, while it did not exclude the care of souls, mainly cared for the souls of its own members, who lived together under rules or vows, to attain, it was supposed, a higher piety than was practicable to ordinary members of the Church under any mere pastoral arrangement.

Monachism as a system was founded by St. Anthony, A.D. 251–356, who was born in Upper Egypt, and being rich, founded the monastery of Faioum, near Memphis, the monastery consisting of a group of separate cells, corresponding to the Scot-

[1] See Cosmo Innes, "Early Scotch Hist." 3, note; and E. W. Robertson, "Hist. Essays," IV. The Shire.

tish examples at Elachnave and Deerness. They wore a habit of black and russet. After them came the monks of St. Basil, founded in 358, who wore a black habit and followed a severe rule. The next development was by St. Benedict, 480–543, Abbot of Monte Cassino, in South Italy, who organized and reformed the system. A further modification and extension was the work of St. Francis of Assisi, in Umbria, 1182–1226, who added the vow of poverty to the earlier vows of celibacy and obedience.

There were seven canonical hours at which monks were summoned by bell to devotion—viz. *Prime*, at 6 A.M.; *Tierce*, or 9 A.M.; *Sext*, or noon; *Nones*, 2 or 3 P.M.; *Vespers*, 4 P.M.; *Compline*, 7 P.M.; *Matins* and *Lauds*, at midnight.

The officers in a large monastery were—*abbot*, or head of the establishment, who was called a *mitred abbot* when he had a seat in the Scots Parliament. A *prior* was vicegerent of the abbot, or head of a smaller house. The prior had often a *sub-prior;* and there was a prior to every ten monks. The *præcentor*, or chanter, was choirmaster, and also robe-keeper and librarian. The *cellarer* had charge of cellar, kitchen, and refectory. The *treasurer*, or bursar, received rents, and paid wages and accounts. The *sacristan*, or secretarius, had charge of altar, sacred vessels, candles, vestments, and bells. He, with the *sub-sacristan*, slept in the church.

Other officers, inferior or occasional, were—almoner, cook, infirmarer, porter, refectioner, chamberlain, hospitaller, and hebdomaries, or doers of certain duties by weekly turns.

The Religious Orders form themselves into two groups—

1. The *Rented* or endowed religious—monks proper and original—subdivided into Benedictines, Cistercians, Carthusians, Vallis-Caulians, and Trinitarians.

2. The *Mendicants*, or Begging Friars, who lived on the "voluntary principle," subdivided into Black, Grey, and White. Friar is specially used of a member of the mendicant orders. A friar or frater, when in priest's orders, was called Father or Pater.

The group of buildings composing one of the larger religious houses was usually extensive, picturesque, and carefully arranged for convenience and order. Chief of all was the

church, which sometimes (as at Paisley), besides serving for the monks, did duty also as a parish church. Immediately outside of the church was a cloister or covered walk around the four sides of a square, two or three of the sides of this square containing the principal monastic buildings. Among these were the chapter-house, where the members of the community met for transacting the business of their order; the scriptorium, where the writing and illuminating of books and manuscripts were done; the library, where books and MSS. were kept in coffers or on shelves; the cells and dormitory, for retirement and sleep; the refectory or dining hall; the parlour; guest chambers; almonry, for distributing victuals to the poor; chequer or exchequer, the chamber of the bursar or financial officer.

The abbot had a special suite of rooms, consisting of chapel, bedroom, oratory, buttery, pantry, and auditory, or interview room. There were also kitchen, bakehouse, brewhouse, granary, grange or house-farm, pomarium or orchard, columbarium or dovecot, and fishery, in pond, loch, and stream, with shot or cruive for diet on Fridays and fasts.[1]

In the time of David I., when so many of the larger monasteries were founded, and for at least two centuries later, these institutions not only evidenced the religious zeal and Christian liberality of the age, but were most judicious instruments of the public weal, material and moral alike. Church tenants had no military service to render to their superiors. For religion's sake they and their dwellings and stock and crops were often spared and passed by unharmed, when fire and sword swept over neighbouring feudal estates. Monks, priors, and abbots were usually both skilled and liberal patrons of every architectural, agricultural, gardening, and pastoral improvement. They knew how to appreciate and encourage the better class of tenants and servants, and often accommodated their leases with a kindly regard to the interests of orphan children, or the widows of deceased and respectable hereditary tenants, thus helping them, notwithstanding bereavement and temporary weakness, to hold good their old place in the social scale.

[1] See Lees' Paisley, chap. xvi., "Monastic Economics."

ALEXANDER II. AND III. 1214–1249–1286.

ALEXANDER II. at the age of seventeen succeeded his father William the Lion in 1214. He married in 1221 the Princess Joan of England, sister of Henry III., who died childless in 1239. In the same year he married hastily Mary de Couci, who in 1241 bore him a son, who succeeded in 1249 as Alexander III. Some time previous to the death of his first wife, Alexander, despairing of direct issue, had arranged with Parliament for Robert Bruce to succeed him as being his nearest male relative. This was declared in 1291 by Bruce.[1] During the reigns of both Alexanders the Church in Scotland maintained a long struggle for freedom from papal interference. In 1217 the country was under papal interdict for fighting against King John (Lackland) of England, Alexander having sided with the English barons in their struggle. Three Scots bishops went to Rome to complain of the extortions of Legate Gualo, by whom Scotland had been put under interdict. In 1225 the Scots clergy represented to Pope Honorius IV. their need of a metropolitan to hold a council to correct abuses. This was granted, and was afterwards cleverly interpreted as a *perpetual* concession under which free provincial councils were held in Scotland. At the first meeting, in 1225, it was enacted that the bishops, abbots, and priors should meet annually in synod, to last for three days. The council was to be summoned by the *Conservator statutorum*, who was to be elected by the assembled prelates, and to whom was entrusted a *quasi* metropolitan authority, and whose office lasted from one synod to another. Besides bishops, abbots, and priors, cathedral chapters, collegiate bodies, and convents were represented by procurators, and prelates unable to attend had to send proxies.[2] At these councils the Scottish kings were represented by two doctors of civil law, whose business was to make known the king's wishes, and in case of need to protect the king's interests by a protestation. It is hardly possible to avoid seeing in this free provincial council of 1225 and its successors, the remote ancestry of the General Assemblies of 1560 downwards.

A code of about sixty canons, dating from the time of the

[1] Hill Burton, ii. 13. [2] Bellesheim, i. 342.

two Alexanders, has come down to us in a MS. discovered about forty years ago at Ethy, an old seat of the Beatons, and which formed part of an ancient register of the Abbey of Arbroath. These canons were read at the beginning of each council after sermon by the bishops in rotation, and after the election of Conservator. The following abstract of the first twelve is from Bellesheim:—[1]

"Introductory—adhering to the decrees of the Councils of Nice, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon, and referring to the authorization of Pope Honorius for the holding of Scottish councils. (1) General directions as to the conduct of the council. (2) Election of the Conservator, and his duties. (3) All the prelates to hold firmly the Catholic and apostolic faith, to instruct those under their jurisdiction in the same, and to urge parents to bring up their children in the knowledge and observance of the Christian religion. (4) The sacraments to be administered according to the form prescribed by the Church. (5) The churches to be built of stone—the nave by the parishioners, and the chancel by the rector; they are to be duly consecrated, and furnished with the proper ornaments, books, and sacred vessels. (6) No church or oratory to be built, nor the divine office celebrated therein, without consent of the diocesan. (7) Masses not to be said in private places without the bishop's permission. (8) Every parish church to have its proper rector or vicar, who is to exercise the cure of souls either personally or by deputy, and all ecclesiastics are to lead pure and godly lives, or suffer canonical punishment. (9) A sufficient sustentation to be provided for vicars from the churches which they serve, amounting, all burdens deducted, to at least ten marks annually. (10) The clergy to take care that both their mental acquirements and outward habit are such as become their state. Garments of a red or green colour or striped not to be worn, nor shorter than befitting, and all clerics to have their proper tonsure. (11) No rector or vicar to enter upon any benefice without the consent of his diocesan or other lawful superior. (12) A proper parsonage house to be built near every church within a year's time."

No less wise and wholesome are the other canons of the code,

[1] Bellesheim, i. 345.

and one cannot but admire the gravity and modesty of those in particular that have for their object the moral purity of the clergy themselves.

These annual councils of the Scottish clergy for the review and direction of Christian life and work, delivered the Church and country from the costly and intermeddling visits of the Papal legates. By plain speaking, in September, 1237, at York, Alexander II. scared Cardinal Otho, legate of Gregory IX., from visiting Scotland. Two years later the same legate got as far as Edinburgh, but met with royal opposition at the Border, and was only allowed to proceed on condition that the visit was not to be used as a precedent. The reign of Alexander witnessed the introduction into Scotland of the two orders of Dominican and Franciscan friars—the king himself founding monasteries for them at Berwick-on-Tweed, Perth, Ayr, Stirling, Aberdeen, Edinburgh, Inverness, and Elgin.

One of the best and most active bishops who ever laboured in Scotland belongs to this reign. David of Bernham, bishop of St. Andrews, as recorded by himself in the fly-leaf of his Pontifical (preserved in the National Library at Paris), in less than ten years consecrated 140 churches, which implies an immense zeal in church architecture, rebuilding, extending, and repairing, all in one diocese. The same bishop in 1242 held a diocesan synod at Musselburgh, when a series of twenty-six decrees were passed,[1] of which the following are specially worthy of quotation:—

"(1) The churchyards to be properly enclosed and protected against wild animals. (2) The chancel of the church to be kept in repair by the rector, the rest of the building by the parishioners. Every church to be provided with a silver chalice and other necessary furniture, the expenses to be met by the rector out of his benefice. (3) The clergy to wear a large and conspicuous tonsure, not to eat or drink in taverns except on a journey, not to play dice, and to lead chaste and devout lives. (12) The duty of residence to be strictly observed by the clergy. (13) Marriage not to be contracted save before lawful witnesses. (16) Clerics not to exercise any secular trade or calling. (17) Nor to dictate or write a sentence of death.

[1] Given in full. Bellesheim i. 353.

(20) To avoid the inconveniences of frequent clerical changes, no substitute to be appointed for less than a year. (23) Vicars strictly bound to residence. (24) Every rector either to provide a suitable and well-educated priest for his church, or to be himself in orders, on pain of suspension and deprivation of his benefice. (25) The confessions of women not to be heard between the chancel-screen and the altar, but in some other part of the church, out of hearing but not out of sight of the faithful." King Alexander II. died of fever at Kerrera during a western expedition to confirm his rule in Argyll and the Isles.

Alexander III., 1249–1286, a king of a very noble type, succeeded his father at the age of eight, so that the country had the misfortune of a regency government for many years. The king was married at York on Christmas Day, 1251, to Margaret, daughter of Henry III. of England, who, with Mary de Couci, mother of the boy-bridegroom, was present at the ceremony. Continuing his father's task of resisting the Norse rule in the Western Isles, he gained the battle of Largs in 1263. This battle was a turning point in our history. King Haco had sailed from Bergen, 7th July, 1263, steering by Shetland, Orkney, anchoring at Ronaldsvoe on 5th August (date fixed by an annular eclipse of the sun), Lewis, Skye, and the Sound of Mull, where above 100 vessels were collected. He plundered Kintyre, Bute, Lochlongside, and the islands in Lochlomond. Thereafter a series of storms stopped his career, first by wrecks in Lochlong, then on 2nd October at Cumbrae, and next day at the battle of Largs. With the remnant of his armament, Haco retired to Lamlash Bay, then to the Hebrides and to Orkney, where he died, 15th December. After this the Norwegian kingdom of the Isles, with the Isle of Man and the Hebrides, was brought under the Scottish crown by treaty, signed in the Dominican priory at Perth, 2nd July, 1266.

Continuing also his father's policy of resistance to Roman interference, Alexander in 1266 prohibited the legate-cardinal, Ottobon de Fieschi (later Pope Adrian V.), from raising a procuration in Scotland of six merks for each cathedral and four merks for each parish church. The king appealed to Rome, and the clergy raised 2000 merks to support the

appeal—*i.e.* to buy off the procuration by a bribe. In 1268 the same legate summoned the Scots clergy to a council in England, when only four attended, not for obedience, but to decline jurisdiction and watch procedure.

Three dates give us the stages of the Papal encroachments on the Scottish purse. 1. In 1254 Innocent IV. gave Henry III. of England one-twentieth of the ecclesiastical revenues of Scotland for three years to help in crusade. But Henry's gain was even more slender than the Pope's right to give. 2. In 1268 Clement IV. increased this airy gift to one-tenth in favour of Henry's son. This time the Scots saved their cash and evaded both England and Rome by offering payment in soldiers. 3. In 1275 a legate came to Scotland to collect in person this one-tenth. His name was Benemundus, or Boiamund de Vicci, but he is best known as Bagimond, possibly as a joke on his bagging or begging mission. The device tried on him was a dispute and appeal whether the one-tenth was to be on the old or the present valuation. The poor legate had to trudge back to Rome for the Pope's decision, which was in favour of the latter. The roll so made out is still extant, and is the best authority for old church wealth. Between 1275 and 1560 many a sore exaction was made on Scots clerics according to this fleecing tariff, especially when the chief benefices fell vacant. The roll was revised in 1512, in a synod held at Edinburgh in the Abbey of the Dominicans.

Alexander died suddenly, by a fall from his horse at Kinghorn, in 1286—to the great grief of his subjects, for he had proved brave, wise, just, and virtuous. Tytler[1] says of him: "Attended by his justiciary, by his principal nobles and a military force which awed the strong offenders and gave confidence to the oppressed, it was his custom to make an annual progress through his kingdom for the redress of wrong and the punishment of delinquents. For this purpose he divided the kingdom into four great districts; and on his entering each county, the sheriff had orders to attend on the kingly judge, with the whole militia of the shire, and to continue with the court till the king had heard all the appeals of that county which were brought before him."

[1] Chap. i.

The oft-quoted CANTUS of ancient lament preserved by Winton (end of Book vii. of Cronykil), says—

> "Quhen Alysandyr, our kinge, wes dede,
> That Scotland led in luwe [love] and le [peace],
> Away wes sons of ale and brede,
> Of wyne and wax, of gamyn [games] and gle.
> . . . . . .
> Our gold wes changyd into lede [leaden sorrow]
> Christ, born into virgynyte,
> Succour Scotland, and remede,
> That sted [placed] is in perplexyte."

On the death of Alexander the crown devolved on his grandchild Margaret, the Maid of Norway.

The only surviving child of Alexander III. and his queen, Margaret, was a daughter, Margaret, born in 1260, during a visit to the English court. This princess was married in 1281 to Eric, king of Norway, and it was her daughter, of the same name, who was now the child-heiress of the Scottish crown. The little Maid of Norway was the subject of much scheming on the part of Edward I. to have her married to his son, the Prince of Wales, so as to subject Scotland to England. He had secretly procured a dispensation in advance from the Pope, as the intended union was within the forbidden degrees. These artifices reached their climax at the treaty of Brigham, near Roxburgh, in July, 1290, when on the part of the Scots many particulars were carefully stipulated for the independence of the kingdom,[1] which all went to justify the Scots in their determined resistance to Edward for forty years following. September of the same year which in July sealed the treaty of Brigham, witnessed the death of the little queen at Kirkwall, on her way from Norway. Now was Edward's opportunity. Already during the marriage negotiations he had asked delivery of Scottish castles to himself and was firmly refused.

THE FORTY YEARS' WAR OF SCOTTISH INDEPENDENCE, AND ONWARD TO JAMES I., 1290–1424.

Even before the child-queen Margaret had sailed from Norway a most rash and unpatriotic appeal had been made to Edward I. from a party of Scottish nobles (unfriendly to

[1] Tytler, i. 28.

Bruce's pretensions). On the death of Margaret no fewer than twelve competitors for the throne appeared, of whom the chief were John Baliol and Robert Bruce. Both claimants were descended from David, earl of Huntingdon, brother to King William the Lion. Bruce, however, was the nearer of the two, being the son of Isabella, David's second daughter, while Baliol was the grandson of his eldest daughter Margaret. The decision lay with King Edward, who claimed as Lord Paramount, and decided for Baliol, who was crowned at Scone on St. Andrew's Day, 1292. In 1293, on occasion of war between England and France, the Scots Parliament sided with the latter, whereupon Edward invaded Scotland with a strong army, and on Good Friday, 30th March, 1296, stormed and sacked Berwick. The Scots army was defeated at Dunbar, April 27, which put all Scotland at Edward's cruel mercy, who in succession visited Roxburgh (May 7), Jedburgh, Edinburgh, Stirling, Perth, Brechin, Aberdeen, and Elgin (July 26). At Brechin Baliol was publicly stripped of the insignia of royalty. (He died an exile in France in 1305.) At each stage of Edward's crushing progress formal homage was compelled from all nobles, magistrates, and clergy. On his return the English usurper robbed Scone of the coronation stone, and mutilated the chartulary of the abbey for the purpose of obliterating the evidence of the independence historically belonging to the throne and Church of Scotland.[1] On the 28th of August the same melancholy year Edward held a Parliament at Berwick to receive collectively the fealty of clergy and laity of the country. But all this, which seemed so sweeping and thorough, was undone on 11th September next year by Wallace's brilliant battle of Stirling Bridge. In 1298 Wallace, though he lost the battle of Falkirk, yet continued to harass Edward by keeping near him on the watch for opportunities. After this defeat Wallace was deserted by the greater barons (who from the first had been jealous of him), and he resigned the office of Governor of Scotland. A slight truce came to Scotland in 1300 through the interposition of Pope Boniface VIII., who reminded Edward of the provisions of the treaty of Brigham which he was violating, and exhorted him to leave Scotland its

[1] The stages and dates of Edward's march are given by Tytler, i. note G.

right of self-government. The Pope at this time declared Scotland a fief of the Holy See, but in 1302, probably after a bribe, sided anew with Edward, and rebuked harshly the patriotic Bishop Wishart of Glasgow.

Edward in 1303 made a second great military progress through Scotland, his stages being Roxburgh (21st May), Edinburgh, Linlithgow, Clackmannan, Perth, Dundee, Brechin, Aberdeen, Banff, Kinloss, Lochendorb, Kildrummie (8th October), back by Dundee, Perth, Stirling, Cambuskenneth, to Dunfermline (11th December).[1]

The death of Wallace took place in 1305, that of Edward I. in 1307, while the coronation of Bruce at Scone by Wishart, bishop of Glasgow, was in the year intervening. This Robert Bruce was grandson of John Baliol's rival in 1290. The coronation was a bold stroke, which was recognized by a national council at Dundee, 24th February, 1309–10. Bannockburn in 1314 put an end for a time to English meddling. A fine feature of the War of Independence was the patriotism and self-denial of the clergy, who sided with Wallace and Bruce in a degree that shamed the calculating or timid nobles, many of whom, however, were really by descent English aliens.

In 1317 two Papal legates came to England to promote peace between England and Scotland, but Bruce refused to receive them, and made grim mockery of their deputy by sending him back naked and letterless because his title of king was not acknowledged. The legates resented this by excommunicating Bruce, and the Pope confirmed it in 1320. But a letter from the Scots Estates at Aberbrothic, on 6th April the same year, signed by eight earls and thirty-one barons, firmly stating the ancient and present independence of Scotland, procured a suspension, and in 1328 a removal of the excommunication. Finally, the treaty of Northampton, 4th May, 1328, completely recognized the independence of Scotland, and on 7th June, 1329, at the age of fifty-five, the great King Robert died peacefully in his castle of Cardross surrounded by his nobles.

David II. 1329–1370, son of the great Bruce, succeeded at five years of age, and was anointed in 1331 by the Bishop of St. Andrews, under a special bull of Pope John XXII. Ran-

[1] Tytler, i., note P.

dolph, earl of Murray, acted as regent up to his death in 1332, and was a competent man, but he was succeeded feebly by Donald, earl of Mar. The king suffered an exile of nine years in France, after losing the battle of Dupplin Moor in 1332, while Edward Baliol was set up in his place by Edward III. of England, and crowned at Scone, but three months later was defeated at Annan, and driven into England. Another misfortune of David II. was eleven years' captivity in the Tower of London, 1346–1357, after his defeat at Neville's Cross, near Durham, 17th October, 1346. The king's release in 1357 was arranged for 100,000 merks. This sum Edward bound firmly on the Scottish Estates, church, barons, and burghs, and also took personal securities in three Scots lords and twenty men of noble houses to reside in England as hostages. But all precautions failed to extract coin from compulsory debtors. When David's queen-princess, Joanna of England, died, he made a low marriage in 1362 with a glamouring widow, Margaret Logie, from whom he was glad to be divorced in 1370. Eleven years' captivity failed to satiate David with England, for again and again after 1357 he revisited the enemy's country, although the release money was unpaid, and he had to take elaborate precautions against fresh arrest. Worse than his capture in matrimony and in war, and worse than his silly visits to England, was his base proposal in 1363 to the Scots Estates to accept Prince Lionel, a son of Edward, as successor to the throne of Scotland—a proposal which met unanimous and scornful rejection from the three Estates met at Scone, "that they would have no Englishman to reign over them." A similar proposal was again made and rejected three years later. From all this it is only too plain that David II. was a poor creature, unworthy of his father and of Scotland; immoral in character, he was also devoid of patriotism. One of the few noticeable features of the reign ecclesiastically was the foundation at Dunbar in 1342 by Patrick, earl of March, of the first collegiate church, which had an establishment consisting of a dean or provost, an archpriest, and eighteen canons. We shall see the growth of this new class of churches later on.

David II. died childless, and was succeeded by his nephew, Robert II., 1370–1390. Robert was the first king of the

Stewart or Stuart dynasty, being son of Walter the High Steward of Scotland, and Marjory, eldest daughter of the great Bruce. The king was fifty-four at his accession, and was crowned at Scone by the Bishop of St. Andrews, 25th March, 1371. Robert had been designated to the throne by his grandfather so far back as 1318. Robert II. gave proofs of ability as regent during the previous reign, but his own reign of nineteen years was one of comparative peace, to recruit the country. The romantic but useless battle of Otterburn occurred in 1388, in the midst of other Border raids in this reign.[1] By his first wife, Elizabeth Mure, the king had four sons and six daughters, and by his second wife, Euphemia Ross, he had two sons and four daughters. Besides these sixteen he had also eight sons illegitimate, who grew up around the court.[2] An Act of the Estates of 1371 fixed the succession to his eldest son John by the first marriage, while the Estates in 1389 appointed the second son (Earl of Fife) regent. By the intermarriages of his family with the nobility, Robert II. secured the peace of his reign. He died at his castle of Dundonald, and was buried at Scone.

ROBERT III., 1390–1406, eldest son of Robert II. succeeded his father. His original name was John, earl of Carrick, but on the day following his coronation, when his queen Annabella Drummond was crowned, it was agreed by nobles, clergy, and people to change the name of John, which was disliked from its connection with Baliol, to Robert III. In this reign happened the gladiatorial fight on the North Inch of Perth between thirty men of one clan against thirty of another, when *Chrom* Gow volunteered to take the place of a "fugie." Now ended nearly a century of war with England, broken by only seven years of truce about 1347. Long strife caused Scotland to be divided into bands under privately warring chiefs, and the evil was increased by the indolence, lameness, and perhaps imbecility of the king—so that Parliament in 1398 appointed his eldest son, the Duke of Rothesay,[3] as regent for three years to act with a council. On 14th August, 1400, Henry IV. of England sent a message to the king demanding homage, and

[1] Chevy Chase comes not from the Cheviot Hills, but from *chevauchée*, raid.
[2] Tytler, i. 328.
[3] First Scottish instance of title of duke.

then on refusal invaded Scotland. A retaliatory army under Douglas was sorely defeated at Homildon Hill in 1402. The Duke of Rothesay, supposed mad and needing restraint, was imprisoned at Falkland, and starved to death by his uncle the Duke of Albany, who thereupon became governor in room of Rothesay. Hereon followed a further mishap, that in March, 1405, the king's only remaining son James (afterwards James I.), aged fourteen, when on his way to France for safety and education, was captured at sea off Flamborough Head, and became prisoner of Henry IV. If not by Albany's contrivance this capture certainly fitted well into Albany's ambition. The poor king died sadly at Rothesay, perhaps broken-hearted, 13th April, 1406.

The interval between the king's death and the liberation of his son James I., in 1424, was filled by two regents. The first of these, from 1406 to his death on the 3rd September, 1419, was Robert Stewart, duke of Albany, who had already acted as regent from the date of the murder of the Duke of Rothesay. During this regency, in 1411, occurred at Harlaw in Garioch the great battle between the Earl of Mar and Donald, Lord of the Isles, which averted from Lowland Scotland the destiny of being overruled from the Celtic West. Duke Robert of Albany was succeeded in the regency by his own son Duke Murdac. Murdac had been one of the prisoners made at Homildon Hill, and his release was procured by his father in exchange for the young Earl of Northumberland, though the king's son still continued a prisoner. Murdac, with his two sons, was beheaded at Stirling in 1425, in view of his castle of Doune, the reason being his own and his father's share in the troubles of Robert III. and James I.

CHAPTER X.

JAMES I. TO JAMES V., 1424–1542.

James I., 1424–1437: Benefits of the training of James I. in captivity—Vengeance on Albany and his sons—Dealing with the Highlands and Alexander, Lord of the Isles—Investiture of bishops and inquisition for Lollards. James II., 1437–1460: Crighton and Livingston winning and losing the boy-king—Rise of Bishop Kennedy of St. Andrews—Four good points in this reign. James III., 1460–1488: Lord Robert Boyd seizes the boy-king at Linlithgow—King's marriage in 1469 and the fall of the Boyds—Agricultural Act of 1469—Story of Archbishop Graham oppressed by knaves—A row of courtiers banged over Lander Bridge—The Lauder Bridge faction fight, and murder of the king at Sauchieburn. James IV., 1488–1513: The king's relation to his father's murderers—Formation of a Scottish navy—The king's exploits on horseback—Wholesome laws of 1493 on Church matters—The king's marriage in 1503—Lands to be let in "feu-farm"—War with England, and the king slain at Flodden. James V., 1513–1542: Miserable series of regencies, and rise of English and French factions—"Erection" of the king in 1524—The king's escape from Falkland to Stirling in 1528—The king's marriages, Princess Magdalene and Mary of Guise—Solway Moss defection, and the king's death through vexation.

JAMES I., 1424–1437, son of Robert III. and Queen Annabella Drummond, born 1394, had been seized by the English in 1406, at the age of fourteen, and kept by Henry IV. for nineteen years. In some respects this captivity was an advantage, for it brought to the king a better education than had been likely in Scotland. Besides training in the exercises of war and chivalry, James profited especially in learning and seeing the art of government and administration of justice in England. Nor was his captivity spent irksomely, for he had intercourse with the best of the English court, and was companion of Henry V. of England in his campaigns in France. In his long captivity he seems to have cherished a deep and fierce resentment at the Regent Albany for making no effort towards his release and acting altogether as a usurper, but he bided his time and carefully planned his design for punishment. The thoughtfulness and resoluteness of the king is seen to better advantage in his clear insight into one of the chief causes of Scottish troubles, and especially of the weakness of the throne in its relation to the turbulent nobles, in his famous *mot:* "Let God but give me life, and there shall not be a spot in my dominions where the key shall not keep the castle and the furze bush the cow, though I myself should lead the life

of a dog to accomplish it." On his release he was crowned at Scone in 1424. He began vigorous legislation in his very first Parliament with a law against rookeries in kirkyard and orchard trees; an Act for the encouragement of archery, providing a butts in the vicinity of parish churches on every £10 land, and prohibiting the useless but popular sport of football. He organized an acting committee, under the name of Lords of the Articles, and passed a law resuming the alienated Crown lands and calling on the nobility to show the charters of their estates. After eight months had passed he held another Parliament at Perth, 12th March, 1425, on the ninth day of which he suddenly arrested Murdac, the late governor, his younger son Alexander, and twenty-six of the principal nobles and barons. Shortly previous he had imprisoned Walter, Albany's eldest son, also the old Earl of Lennox, Albany's father-in-law, and Sir Robert Graham (afterwards the king's murderer). Within the same month of May, Albany, his two sons, and his father-in-law were all condemned and executed. The same year witnessed the institution of the Court of Session, on 30th September. Another Parliament, held at Inverness in 1427, was notable for sudden and sharp dealing with forty Highland chiefs, who were seized and bound, of whom some whose guilt was already clamant were at once executed, while the majority were released. One of the released, Alexander, Lord of the Isles, soon after rebelled, razed Inverness, and ravaged certain Crown lands, but was promptly met by the king in Lochaber and defeated. Subsequently he appeared half clad with a naked sword in his hand before the altar at Holyrood begging mercy, which was granted. In 1431 James made an expedition to Dunstaffnage to punish a fresh rebellion under Donald Balloch, and 300 thieves and robbers were executed on the occasion. In his thirteen years' reign the king held no fewer than thirteen meetings of Parliament, and thus laboured hard at planting order among all classes of his subjects.

The Church had a full share of the king's efforts. He renewed the struggle with the Pope as to the investiture of bishops. Urban IV. had ordained every bishop to go to Rome for consecration—a grasping addition made to the acknowledged right of confirming appointments which brought great fees to

Rome. To checkmate this James enacted that no clerk should purchase any pension out of any benefice; also that no clerk should go beyond seas without consent of his ordinary, and only after an oath not to be guilty of baratrie, or simony. In addition to these safeguards, an Act against carrying gold out of the realm was made applicable to clerks. He made a special law for encouragement of learning in the Church as a qualification for preferment, by providing that all canons must have a university degree.[1] A less pleasant feature of this great reign of law and order is its relation to church doctrine. The king's great allies in curbing the nobles and barons were the clergy, and in return for their help in *his* case he seems to have helped them in *their* case more than perhaps his own taste would have prompted. Parliament, in 1425, directed every bishop to make inquisition for Lollards and heretics; this was the continuance of a policy which eighteen years before had caused John Resby to be burned at Perth. In 1433 Paul Craw, a Bohemian physician, was burned at St. Andrews, the prosecutor in both cases being Abbot Laurence of Lindores, the Inquisitor for Scotland.[2] Both Resby and Craw held Lollard or Wicliffite doctrine, which had been dealt with at the great Council of Basel, that met in 1431, and was attended by eight Scottish representatives, including the Bishops of Glasgow and Moray and the Abbot of Arbroath, who would return from it with additional zeal. The extremely tragic end of King James, murdered at Christmas in the Dominican Convent at Perth by Sir Robert Graham (uncle to the Earl of Stratherne), is best narrated by Tytler.[3]

James II. (1437–1460) succeeded at the age of eight. Immediately after the tragedy at Perth the queen-mother fled with her son to Edinburgh and took refuge in the castle, of which Sir William Crichton was governor. The young king was hastily crowned at Holyrood, and a Parliament was held within a month which settled that the queen-mother was to have custody of her son till he was twenty-one, and Archibald, fifth earl of Douglas and duke of Touraine, was to be lieutenant-general of the kingdom. All this came to nought, and great part of the work of James I. was undone, the improvements being too raw to

[1] Walcott, "Ancient Church of Scotland," 73. [2] Laing's "Lindores Abbey," 105. [3] Chap. ii.

last, and the nobles regaining their old turbulence. The queen-mother found herself a prisoner in the castle, and Crichton seizing power by becoming keeper of the king. She eluded this by a clever flight with the king to Stirling Castle, which was in charge of Sir Alexander Livingstone of Callander; but it was only a change from the frying-pan to the fire. Livingstone went to Edinburgh and began a siege of the castle on the ground of Crichton's treason, but the two rogues had a conference which ended in an alliance on the basis of going shares in the spoil. At this point, in 1439, the Earl of Douglas died, so that the two plotters became masters of the king and kingdom. The queen-mother now married Sir James Stewart, the Black Knight of Lorn, an ally of Douglas, but the anticipated advantage was extinguished by both bride and bridegroom being imprisoned by Livingstone at Stirling, when Livingstone took possession of the boy-king. The next move was that Crichton surprised the king when at play in the park of Stirling and ran off with him to Linlithgow. But the two rogues were again reconciled to make common cause by the mediation of Bishop Leighton of Aberdeen and Bishop Winchester of Moray at an interview in St. Giles'. Crichton, as chancellor, decoyed the young Earl Douglas and his brother David and their friend, Malcolm Fleming of Cumbernauld, into the Castle of Edinburgh, and had them all immediately executed after a hasty and sham trial. Livingstone after this, "splitting" with Crichton once more, had an agreement with William, eighth earl of Douglas, who married the Fair Maid of Galloway, his cousin. This influence brought about the fall of Crichton, and Bishop Kennedy of St. Andrews (sister's son of James I.) became chancellor instead. The firm attitude of Bishop Kennedy drew upon him, in 1444, the anger and revenge of Alexander, second earl of Crawford, who, with a band of turbulent men, wasted with fire and sword the bishop's lands in Fife and Angus, and tried to capture the bishop himself, who took refuge in his castle and excommunicated the marauders.[1] With Kennedy, who was both honest and patriotic, came a better turn of affairs, for he henceforth steadied Crichton and wrought for the true interest of the king. Crichton again became chan-

[1] Tytler, ii. 138.

cellor, and in 1449 James married Mary, princess of Gueldres. After this the chief of the Livingstones were seized at Inchbelly, near Kirkintilloch, and ceased to form a rival party. In 1451, in Stirling Castle, James, with his own hand, in a sudden quarrel, stabbed Earl Douglas, who had a sealed letter of safe-conduct from king and council. This shocking crime led to a state of civil war. Parliament, in June, 1453, at Edinburgh, divided the Douglas estates, but soon after again the king made terms of peace with Douglas. In 1460 the king, in the interest of the Lancaster party in England, laid siege to the Castle of Roxburgh, which was held by Neville for the Yorkists, when one of the old hooped cannon burst and a splinter killed the king on the spot in his thirtieth year. Two good points marked this wild reign—the founding of the University of Glasgow in 1450, on the model of Bologna, by a bull of Pope Nicholas V., at the request of Bishop Turnbull;[1] and the declaration of the provincial councils of Perth, in 1457 and 1459, that presentations to vacant benefices by ancient law and custom, within a vacant bishopric, belonged to the Crown—confirmed by Act of Parliament in 1462, and renewed in 1485 and 1487.[2] The legislation of James II. was in many particulars of high value. Best of all was the Act of 1449, giving security of tenure to tenants with leases when an estate changed hands: "For the safety and favour of the puir pepil that labouris the grunde, that all tenants having tacks for a term of years, shall enjoy their tacks to the ish of their terms, suppose the lords sell or analy their lands."[3] In the same direction of security for country people was the Act against "sornars, outlyars, masterful beggars, fools, bards, and runners about." Prudent and patriotic was the organization of wapenshaws, with weekly meetings for archery (every Sunday!), and an amusing part of the Act was the prohibition of the idle sports of golf and football, which withdrew men's attention from honest labour and were useless for national defence.

James III. (1460–1488), at the age of eight succeeded his father, being crowned at Kelso after the capture of the castles

[1] For a good account of which see Cosmo Innes' "Early Scotch Hist.," 67–69, 220–253.
[2] Bellesheim, ii. 85. [3] Cosmo Innes, "Legal Antiq.," 125; also Tytler, ii. 148.

of Roxburgh and Wark. His first Parliament was held at Edinburgh in February, 1460, when the queen-mother and Bishop Kennedy were recognized as charged with the care of the king, with Lord Evandale as chancellor and Lord Boyd as justiciar. The queen-mother died in 1463. The struggle of the Roses in England partly affected Scotland, but the battle of Hexham proved the deathblow of the Lancastrians, and a truce of fifteen years was thereon concluded with Scotland. The Boyds now rose into power by getting hold of the king's person. We see how this was managed by an "indenture" or "band" of 10th February, 1465,[1] mutually pledging Fleming, Kennedy, and Boyd to stand each to other in "aefald kindness, supply, and defence." This was done in anticipation of Bishop Kennedy's death in 1466. As the king, aged fourteen, was sitting in his exchequer court at Linlithgow four members laid hands on him, put him on a horse, and took him to Edinburgh Castle. At the next Parliament in Edinburgh, under the guidance of the four traitors, an Act of Indemnity was passed, Boyd was formally appointed governor of the king's person, and a committee of peers was entrusted with parliamentary powers. Sir Thomas Boyd, eldest son of Lord Robert Boyd, was married to Mary, eldest sister of the king, and was made Earl of Arran. The king himself was married to Margaret, daughter of Christiern, king of Denmark, the dowry to be 60,000 florins, of which 10,000 were to be paid down and a mortgage given over the Orkney Isles till the rest was paid, with besides, or first rather, a full discharge of the "annual" of the Western Isles, and all arrears thereon—an old score between Denmark and Scotland. Latterly King Christiern could scrape together only 2000 of the 10,000 florins, when he gave Shetland as security for the 8000 balance—and the two pledges have never been redeemed, so that Orkney and Shetland have ever since been Scottish, and specially connected with the Crown as well. The royal marriage took place at Holyrood in July, 1469, the king being eighteen and the queen sixteen. The fall of the Boyds quickly followed on the marriage, and from the marriage old Lord Boyd fled to Northumberland and died. His son, the Earl of Arran, fled to Denmark, where his ruin had been planned, and Sir Alexander,

[1] The text of which is given by Tytler, ii., note O.

Lord Robert's brother, was executed 22nd November, 1469, for the treason of 9th July, 1466, in carrying off the king from Linlithgow. Of course their estates were forfeited. The Princess Mary, wife of the Earl of Arran, was divorced and married Lord Hamilton, whose family now, in point of influence, took the place of the Boyds, and in Queen Mary's time, through this marriage, were next heirs to the throne. In 1469 was passed a valuable Act declaring the non-liability of the property of the tenants who tilled the ground for the debts of their lord. This is another of the roots of modern agricultural freedom, following up the Act of James II. giving security under leases. In the see of St. Andrews Bishop Kennedy, who died in 1466, was succeeded by his uterine brother, Patrick Graham, bishop of Brechin, one of the best, but most unjustly treated and unfortunate, of our bishops. He was disliked by the Boyds, and went to Rome for confirmation, which was bestowed by Paul II. Fearing his reception at home he prolonged his stay at Rome, and wrought so effectually against the revived claims of Archbishop Neville of York that he got the next Pope, Sixtus IV., in 1472, to make the see of St. Andrews metropolitan and independent. Moreover, the Pope appointed Graham his legate for three years, that he might reform the internal abuses of the Church.

On his return everything went against the good archbishop—the nobles were scared at the prospect of losing their trade in the sale of livings—the priests were scared at the prospect of real work and parting with their concubines —the other bishops were jealous of a new and reforming superior. These three influences poisoned the mind of the king, and Graham was brought to trial before prejudiced or bribed judges on charges of the most flimsy and perverted kind. His condemnation was the result; the king confirmed the sentence, and made Shevez, the chief prosecutor, and a man of no principle, archbishop in his stead. The afflicted Graham lost his reason, was imprisoned as a lunatic, and died in Inchcolm—a sorrowful fate for the pure and patriotic churchman who nobly completed the ecclesiastic independence of Scotland.

In 1482 the discontented and seditious nobles had an army at Lauder, where the king and his despised favourites were.

Here Archibald Douglas, earl of Angus, gained his cognomen of Bell-the-cat from his prompt volunteering to master Cochrane, after Lord Gray had told the story of the mice and the cat. Cochrane, the king's architect, Dr. Rogers, musician, Hommil, a tailor, Torphichen, Leonard, a shoemaker, Preston, and some others of the royal pets, were hanged in a row like dogs over Lauder Bridge by the wild rebels. The poor king himself was taken to Edinburgh for imprisonment under the care of the Earls of Atholl and Buchan, who, however, soon capitulated (possibly by collusion) to the Duke of Albany, who became king's keeper. Albany was thereafter stripped of his offices, but being allowed to keep his estates, entered into new plots with England. Edward IV., dying, was succeeded by Richard III., who wished peace with Scotland. Queen Margaret died in 1486. The old faction of Lauder Bridge still feared being called to account, and in 1487 tried to secure themselves in Parliament; but the king's party was strong, and passed an Act refusing applications for pardon for treason and other crimes for seven years to come. The next move of the same faction was to declare that James had forfeited the crown and ceased to reign, whereupon they proclaimed his son as James IV. The king, with an army of 30,000, met the rebels at Blackness, gained a skirmish, but too mildly negotiated a pacification, after which he retired to Edinburgh, and too confidingly disbanded his army. At once his son and the rebels reappeared. The royal army was quickly raised again, and they went to Stirling to meet a northern contingent. The rebels followed them from Falkirk, and a battle was fought at Sauchieburn, two miles from Stirling. As the heat and danger of the fight neared the king, his nobles prevailed on him to escape on horseback to the village of Bannockburn, but his horse getting a scare James fell heavily in his armour and was stunned. Carried into an adjacent cottage, still known as Beaton's Mill, he called for a confessor, when one of his enemies, pretending himself a priest, and being informed of the king's identity, with the baseness of a fiend, while stooping for pretended confession mortally stabbed the bruised king—in the thirty-fifth year of his age and twenty-eighth of his reign. Tytler gives a vindication of the character and tastes of James

III., which commends itself as just, for it is chiefly writers influenced by the hostile faction who have disparaged him.[1] His architectural taste contributed not a little to Stirling Castle, and his musical zeal led him to build and endow the original Chapel Royal, which in later reigns became so famous as to rival a bishopric, and whose endowments partly survive to the Scottish chaplains of Queen Victoria.[2]

James IV. (1488–1513) at the age of sixteen succeeded his father. His coronation took place 26th June at Scone. For his share in his father's death he wore a penitential chain round his body, and added yearly to its weight. His first Parliament met on 6th October, 1488, and a fourth met so early as 3rd February, 1489, the chief work of these being perversely the prosecution of the nobles who were faithful to his father—such as Buchan, Bothwell, and Ross of Montgrenan—whereas the real traitors were the present king's own courtiers. An insurrection took place under the Earl of Lennox and Lord Lyle, who had many sympathisers in the north, where the king's father had had great support. The insurrection was quelled by the siege of Duchal and Crookston and the surrender of Dunbarton, shortly after which Lennox, Huntly, Marshal, Lyle, and Forbes were pardoned and restored to royal favour. One of the great distinctions of the reign was the growth of a Scottish navy, in which the king took a deep personal interest, following here the example of his father. On one occasion Sir Andrew Wood of Largo, with his *Flower* and *Yellow Carvel*, brought in five captive pirate vessels to Leith, while another time he defeated three ships of Stephen Bull, and took them as prizes to Dundee. The exploits of John and Robert Barton soon followed. The king himself was specially fond of tournaments, and had a taste for rambling about in disguise, partly for curiosity to hear what his subjects thought of him, and partly to break the seventh commandment by opportunity or importunity. In a better way he was very energetic from time to time in rapidly riding great distances to promote the peace of the country and superintend the working of courts of justice. In 1490 he twice rode from Perth across the "Mounth"

[1] In the end of chap. iv.

[2] Roger's "Hist. of the Chapel Royal of Scot." (Grampian Club, 1882).

into Aberdeenshire. In 1493 he rode into the West Highlands to Dunstaffnage, and Mingarry in Ardnamurchan. In 1494 he thrice visited the Isles, tried Sir John of the Isles for treason at Edinburgh, and stripped him of power and lands. In 1498 he travelled as far as Inverness. In one day he rode quite alone from Stirling to Elgin, and then after a few hours' rest rode on to the shrine of St. Duthac at Tain, to prove at once the quietness of his realm and do an act of devotion. In 1499 he held his court in South Kintyre.

"In a Parliament held at Edinburgh in the summer of the year 1493 some important laws were passed, which evinced the jealousy of the king regarding any interference with his ecclesiastical privileges in the disposal of church benefices, and his determination to resist all unreasonable encroachments upon the part of the court of Rome. Eight months were to be allowed, after the occurrence of a vacancy in any see, for the king's letter appointing a successor to reach the Pope; no interim promotion was to be allowed; and any of the lieges who were detected lending themselves or their interest to oppose these regulations, were declared guilty of treason. No legate was to be permitted to enter the realm, unless he was a cardinal or a native of Scotland; and the Archbishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow, who had been for some time engaged in a violent litigation, which had been carried on before the Papal court, and the expense of which plea had been attended, it is declared, with 'inestimable damage to the realm,' were exhorted to cease from their contention before a foreign ecclesiastical tribunal, submitting to the decision of the king, under the serious denunciation that if they demur to this proposal their tenants and 'mailers' shall be interdicted from paying to them their rents till they have repented of their contumacy. The king's orators and ambassadors who were sent to Italy received directions to exhort and entreat all his subjects, whether of the clergy or laymen, who had pleas depending in the Roman court, to withdraw their litigation, and to return like dutiful subjects to their own country, bringing with them their bulls, writs, and other muniments, after which the monarch undertook that justice should be administered to them by their ordinary judge within whose jurisdiction the cause lay,

and over whose conduct in delivering an impartial decision he engaged to have a strict superintendence."[1]

An important agricultural enactment was that flour was to be brought to market, and sold without any new taxation beyond the first multure where it was ground, and that victual might be sold all days as well as market days. By the Parliament of 1496 a singularly good educational Act was passed, ordering "that throughout the kingdom all barons and freeholders, whose fortunes permitted it, should send their sons to the schools as soon as they were eight or nine years old, to remain there until they had attained a competent knowledge of the Latin tongue; after which they were directed to place them, for the space of three years, as pupils in the seminaries of art and law, so that they might be instructed in the knowledge of the laws, and fitted as sheriffs and ordinary judges, to administer justice under the king's highness throughout the realm;" whilst it is added, by this provision the "poor people of the land will not be obliged, in every trifling offence, to seek redress from the king's principal council."[2]

In 1503, at the age of thirty, the king married Princess Margaret of England, daughter of Henry VII., aged fourteen, an event which was celebrated in Dunbar's poem of "The Thistle and the Rose," as well as in other ways more obtrusive. A sad prelude to the marriage was the death, supposed by poison, of three sisters at Drummond Castle—Margaret, Euphemia, and Sibylla—daughters of Lord Drummond, the first of whom had for years been the king's mistress, and a very costly one, as the price of her silks in the treasurer's account-books shows. The marriage was happily followed by nine years of peace. One other agricultural law of 1504 is worthy of special note as thus described by Tytler:—"In the year 1457 it had been recommended to the king, lords, and prelates to let their lands in 'feu farm,' but this injunction, which, when followed, was highly beneficial to the country, had fallen so much into disuse, that its legality was disputed; it loosened the strict ties of the feudal system by permitting the farmers and labourers to exchange their military services for the payment of a land rent; and although it promoted agricultural improvement it was

[1] Tytler, chap. v. [2] Ibid.

probably opposed by a large body of the barons, who were jealous of any infringement upon their privileges. The benefits of the system, however, were in 1504 once more recognized. It was declared lawful for the sovereign, his prelates, nobles, and landholders to 'set their lands in feu,' under any condition which they might judge expedient, taking care, however, that by such leases the annual income of their estates should not be diminished to the prejudice of their successors."

The "raid of Eskdale" took place in 1504 for the quieting of that land of thieves and jackmen. Scotland had its first printing press, that of Walter Chepman, in 1508, when, after a volume of pamphlets, appeared the famous Breviary of Bishop Elphinstone of Aberdeen, who in 1494 had procured a Papal bull for the erection of a university there.

On the accession of Henry VIII., the relations of King James to England soon changed from peace to war. In 1513 the king mustered an army of 100,000 men on the Burrow Muir of Edinburgh, and set out to cross the Borders. The expedition seems to have been regarded as rash and unjustified, although from the king's personal popularity many obeyed the summons. The famous token of warning was the appearance of the old man in blue gown, linen girdle, and sandals in Linlithgow Church, who called loudly on the king, went to his prie-dieu, gave him a double caution against going to war and against illicit amours, and then mysteriously disappeared. This apparition was supposed to be a stratagem of the queen, in the hope of reaching the king's will through his superstition, as a last appeal. All was in vain. The first evil happened at Ford Castle, where the lust-led monarch wasted his time dallying with Mrs. Heron, to the disgust of his army, which melted down to 30,000 (the initial 100,000 being perhaps a little exaggerated). The fatal fight of Flodden was fought on 9th September, 1513, and so equal was the struggle that it was not till next daylight that the English, under the Earl of Surrey, found out their success. The loss of the Scots, besides their king, was twelve earls, thirteen lords, five eldest sons of peers, fifty gentlemen of rank, five church dignitaries, and 10,000 commons. The king fell in the forty-first year of his age and the twenty-sixth of his reign.

JAMES V. (1513–1542) in his second year succeeded his father, having been born in April, 1512. Again had the land to suffer sorely during the king's minority, from the rivalries of turbulent barons contending for power by possession of the king's person. Margaret, the queen-mother, sister of Henry VIII., was regent, but she foolishly married Douglas, earl of Angus, and gave rise to English and French factions which lasted till the Reformation, producing not only dispeace, but leading to the loss of thousands of lives in feuds which amounted to civil war, impoverishing the country and hindering agriculture and all refining influences. From 1513 to 1528 the supreme power was tossed like a ball from side to side—the queen-mother, or the queen-mother and her second husband, or the Duke of Albany, or the Earl of Arran, being in turn the players. The death of the great Bishop Elphinstone of Aberdeen in 1514, who was intended for the primacy, threw that place open to a miserable set of prize-fighters on the death at Flodden of the king's bastard, Archbishop Alexander Stewart, aged twenty-three. The prize fell to Andrew Forman, bishop of Moray, the disappointed competitors being Gavin Douglas, afterwards of Dunkeld, and John Hepburn, prior of St. Andrews. The Duke of Albany landed at Dunbarton in May, 1515, and left again for France in 1517, when De la Bastie ("Tillibatie") acted as his deputy, but was entrapped and killed near Dunse by Home of Wedderburn. In 1520 a fight in the streets of Edinburgh—"Cleanse the Causeway"—took place between the party of Arran and that of Angus, the latter being successful. Albany returned to Scotland in November, 1520, and resumed his regency, but Henry VIII. was continually interfering. In 1522 Albany again returned to France after appointing a Council of Regency of five members, headed by James Beaton, the archbishop of Glasgow (afterwards of St. Andrews), as Chancellor. Previous to this had taken place a foolish expedition to the Borders, which broke up at Eccles. Albany finally left Scotland for France in 1524.

Meantime the king was being educated mostly in the Castle of Edinburgh under Gavin Dunbar, who in this period of violence and corruption behaved so nobly as Bishop of Aberdeen from 1519 to 1532. Bishop Dunbar's royal pupil was

put in a fresh position in 1524, appropriately called "the Erection of the King," for he was now set up as a puppet to subserve the interests of rival political parties. At the age of twelve the boy was taken from his lessons and carried from Stirling to Holyrood, whereupon all the officers of the royal household were changed, "from the treasurer to the carver." At this stage of the puppet-show the royal guardians as rearranged were Lennox, Hamilton, Angus, and Beaton; but the dogs now fell out afresh over the bone of the abbacy of Holyrood, just as before, in 1514, they had fought over the bone of the primacy. The king's erection was followed next year by the queen-mother's success in procuring her divorce from Angus, whereon this feminine Henry VIII. at once married her paramour, Henry Stewart, second son of Lord Evandale. The very next year again, in June, the divorced Angus rose once more to the surface, and thus afresh a new series of revenges and acts of violence was the result.

At the age of seventeen, on the 23rd May, 1528, the king made his escape suddenly and cleverly from Falkland Palace and fled to Stirling, thus eluding the constraint of the Douglases. No sooner had he attained his freedom in Stirling than he summoned the chief lords to meet him, and began measures to be avenged on Angus. Next year, in the month of June, with a host of 12,000 men, he went to the Border country, partly on a hunting expedition and partly on a raid against thieves. Johnnie Armstrong of Gilnockie and forty of his men, richly arrayed, presented themselves confidingly before the king, and were immediately seized and hanged, which, considering the habits of the age and district, was rather hasty and promiscuous dealing. Another of these wild hunting parties was held in the Atholl country, when, after a splendid entertainment in a great tent of green wood, the extemporized banqueting place was fired and burnt to the ground as a fresh barbaric show.

The king married in 1537, at Paris, Magdalene, daughter of Francis I., who landed at Leith on Whitsun Eve, but died at Midsummer of consumption. A second marriage took place at St. Andrews in June, 1538, to Mary, daughter of the Duke of Guise, and widow of the Duke of Longueville. Mary of Guise, from this date till her death in the Castle of Edinburgh

in 1560, fills a very important place in our history. In 1540 the king made an expedition by sea along the east coast, north to Orkney, back to the Pentland Firth, and westward to the Hebrides, ending at Dunbarton, where he landed to return to Stirling. The queen bore first one son and then another, but both died in infancy, and shortly before them died Queen Margaret, the troublesome widow of James IV. In August, 1542, Henry VIII. invaded Scotland, whereon James gathered an army of 30,000 on the Burrow Muir of Edinburgh, marched southward, and met the invaders at Solway Moss. The nobles acted cruelly and unpatriotically, partly in anger with the king and partly in hatred of Oliver Sinclair, who had the chief command. The result was that there was no heart in the fight, so that when the English attacked them they fell back like sullen cowards or traitors; whereafter the poor king was so dejected that he took to bed in Falkland, and died of shame and vexation on the 14th of December, 1542, in the thirty-first year of his age. On his deathbed tidings came of the birth of a princess at Linlithgow on 7th December, afterwards Mary Queen of Scots, whereat he grumbled, "It cam with a lass and it will gang with a lass." But the grumble was no deathbed second-sight, for "the lass" is the best known and (apart from ecclesiastical feuds) best beloved of the whole Stuart line.

While the poor king left only one infant daughter to fill his throne, he left no fewer than six bastard children, for whose sake the best ecclesiastical livings in Scotland were degradingly alienated—viz. James Stewart, abbot of Kelso and Melrose; James Stewart, "the Good Regent," prior of St. Andrews; Robert, prior of Holyrood House; John, prior of Coldingham; Janet, wife of the Earl of Angus; Adam, prior of the Chartreux at Perth. Appointments like these are the clearest proof of the hopeless rottenness of the age, and showed how near the old church was to its day of doom, when such scandals were tamely submitted to.

CHAPTER XI.

ORGANIZATION OF THE CHURCH, 1542–1560.

THE THIRTEEN DIOCESES OF SCOTLAND.

Dioceses of St. Andrews, Glasgow, Dunkeld, Aberdeen, Moray, Brechin, Dunblane, Ross, Caithness, Galloway, Lismore or Argyll, the Isles, Orkney, with succession of bishops in each see—Summary of parishes and chapels in the thirteen sees—Collegiate churches or provostries—Monasteries, hospitals, &c.

I. Diocese of St. Andrews.

THE earliest Christian settlement at what, in the eighth century, came to be known as St. Andrews is that of St. Cainnech, or Kenneth, of Achaboe in Ireland. He was a contemporary of St. Columba, and had a cell here on the very edge of the sea, where he died, 11th October, 598. Some, however, place the cell of Kenneth not at Kilrymont, but at Kennoway or Kennichi, near Markinch, 20 miles from St. Andrews.[1] It is certain that old calendars join Kenneth more to Kennoway than to St. Andrews.

At this earliest period there was a second and principal connection of the same place with the Irish Church through St. Riagail, Regulus, or Rule, of Muic-inis in Loch Derg, who was with St. Columba at the convention or synod of Drumceat in 573, and settling here left his name even more firmly than Kenneth himself, being known as St. Rule or Rewel, and his chapel as Kilrule.

The connection of the place with St. Andrew the apostle has no historical foundation till the year 731, when Bishop Acca of Hagulstad or Hexham, in Northumberland, took refuge among the Picts, and brought with him relics of St. Andrew, who was specially venerated at Hexham. At this period (736) a fresh endowment was made directly associated with St. Andrew, the endowment coming from Angus, king of the Picts (731–761), known as Angus son of Fergus,[2] who dedicated one-tenth of his inheritance, in terms of his vow at Athelstaneford. Following

[1] See Gordon's "Scotichronicon," i. 71.

[2] Skene's "Celtic Scotland," i. 296–8.

this we meet the name of Tuathalan as an abbot of Kilrymont, who died in 747. Then in still firmer history we meet the name of Cellach or Kellach in 908, as the first bishop of St. Andrews, the see having been recently removed from Abernethy, and added on to the older religious settlement at Kilrymont or Kilrule. Thus early there seems to have been a duplicate religious establishment in the place, corresponding to the later cathedral staff on the one hand, and the adjacent priory of St. Andrews with its monks on the other; for in 921 a modification of the old system of the Celtic or Columban monastery was made, when a canonical rule of Culdees was introduced through Maenach *Cele De*, who came from Ireland to establish "the ordinances of Erinn," where this canonical rule had already been in operation for a century—being, in fact, the adoption of the plan agreed on in 816, at the Council of Aix-la-Chapelle, for bringing together into one common life recluses who previously had lived as solitaries. An arrangement with the Keledei of Lochleven was made by Fothad, the second bishop of Alban, who succeeded Kellach. We may judge how well the monks of Kilrymont stood in that age from the fact that Constantine III. quitted his throne to join them, and spent five years as their abbot, dying in 943. The bishops of Alban[1] were Cellach, 908; Fothad, son of Bran; Malisius, 955–963; Maelbrigdi, 963–970; Cellach, son of Ferdalaig, 970–995; Alwynus, 1025–1028; Maelduin, 1028–1055; Tuthald, 1055–1059; Fothad, last bishop of Alban, 1059–1093. On the death of Fothad there was no bishop for fourteen years, until the appointment of Turgot in 1007, as the first bishop of St. Andrews under the new system of Queen Margaret. The original diocese of Kellach and his successors had its southern boundary at the Forth, extended west as far as Strathern and Menteith, and north to Angus and Mearns. But in 1018, after the battle of Carham, Eadulf ceded the province of Lothian to the victor, Malcolm II., so that then was added to the diocese that large province, which became the archdeaconry of Lothian, and in 1636 was separated by Charles I. as a new bishopric, of Edinburgh—of Erastian origin (according to the theories of High-Churchmen), compared with the old Thirteen.

[1] As given by Skene, ii. chap. viii.

The outline of the history of the present cathedral of St. Andrews, the ruins of which are so remarkable, is that it was founded in 1160 by Malcolm IV. and Bishop Arnold, and known as "the Great Church," the choir being as usual the part first built and consecrated. A consecration of part of the nave took place in 1243. From 1272–79 Bishop Wishart continued the building westward. A re-consecration took place in 1318 by Bishop Lamberton, after the lead of the roof had been stripped by Edward I. in 1304. A great fire, from careless plumbers on the roof, occurred in 1378, but it was restored by Prior Bisset (1393–1416). In 1472 the see was raised to an archbishopric with twelve dioceses suffragan, until in 1491 Glasgow was made an archbishopric with four suffragans, leaving seven suffragans to St. Andrews.

The cathedral had thirty or more chapels or altarages, each with a separate endowment, so that[1] "there was scarcely a house or tenement in St. Andrews which did not yield a few shillings yearly to the chaplain of one or other of the altars." Their names were—Holy Rood, B.V. Mary, St. Catharine, St. Lawrence, St. John Baptist, St. Bartholomew, St. James, All Saints, St. Phillan the Abbot, St. Duchatt or Duthac, St. Mary Magdalene, St. Barbara the Martyr, Our Lady of Pity, St. Michael the Archangel, St. Fergus, St. Ninian, Holy Blood, St. Nicholas, St. Peter, St. Anne, St. John Evangelist, St. Andrew, St. Bride, "the Douglas Virgin."

Previous to "the Great Church" there was "the Old Church," of which the tower and church of St. Rule survive. Going backwards, probably there was yet another church intermediate between the old church and the original cell or cells of St. Kenneth and St. Regulus. The best light on the old church is from a design on two capitular seals given in Gordon's "Scotichronicon," i. 97, where the tall square tower appears with a low sloping spire on top, on the one side of the tower being a chancel and on the other side a nave, both roofed with stone, the nave having a lesser tower on the west end, and a southern door on the side, and being 8 or 10 feet higher in the ridge than the chancel, and the windows to match. The tower is supposed to belong to the end of the eleventh century;

[1] Lyon's Hist. i. 53.

but an earlier date is more probable, especially if, as is also probable, it originally stood alone, corresponding to the Round Towers of Abernethy and Brechin, as a place of security for church books, plate, and vestments, and of retreat for priests in time of war.[1] What Lyon (ii. 164) says of this earlier cathedral is more certainly true of the building that immediately preceded it, probably on the same site. It was in this ancient church that Hungus, king of the Picts, with his nobles, offered up their grateful thanks to God and St. Andrew, on their bare knees, for the victory which they had been enabled to gain over Athelstane the Saxon; presented gifts in fulfilment of their vow; and made provision for the honourable custody of the relics of the apostle.

"Syne St. Andrewys relics there,
With honour gret ressaved were."

Here the venerable Culdean fathers worshipped God and are buried. Here Constantine III. was interred; but his bones were afterwards dug up by the monks of Iona and translated to their monastery. Here, too, are interred Edelred, earl of Fife, son of Malcolm III. and abbot of Dunkeld, who had been a benefactor to the monastery, and Hugh Macflavertie, king of Ailech and heir of Ireland, who did penance within its walls for his sins. Here, moreover, Bishop Arnold was consecrated by a papal legate, in the presence of Malcolm IV.; and, lastly, here repose in peace the remains of the same Arnold, together with Bishops Robert and Roger, whose tombs are mentioned by Wyntoun, though all traces of them have long since been effaced.

This church served as the cathedral of the diocese till the one properly so called was constructed; and it was in its chancel that King Alexander I.

"Gart them to the altar bryng
Hys comely steed of Araby,
Saddled and brydled costlyly,
Covered with a fayre mantlet
Of pretious and fyne velvet,
With hys armory of Turkey
That prince then used generally"—

[1] See Anderson's "Early Christian Scotland," 33.

when he bestowed the "Cursus Apri" and other valuable gifts on the Church of St. Andrews.

The titles of the primate were—Lord of the Lordship and Priory of St. Andrews; Lord Keig and Monymusk; Lord Kirkliston, Dairsey, Monimeal, Scotscraig, Tynningham, &c. He had palaces at Stow, Linlithgow, Kinghorn, and Inchmurtach, and houses of an inferior description at Torrie, Dairsey, Monimeal, Muckart, Kettins, Linton, and Monymusk. He was perpetual moderator and president of all national synods, chancellor of the university, and patron of a hundred and thirty-one benefices; and before the Reformation no abbot or prior within the limits of his diocese could be appointed without his express sanction and confirmation. His jurisdiction extended over eight dioceses, and he was lord of regality over three districts—viz. (1) Monymusk, with the Marquis of Huntly as hereditary bailie, paying £300 of feu duty; (2) Kirkliston, with the Earl of Winton (and later the Laird of Hopetoun) as hereditary bailie; (3) St. Andrews (*i.e.* counties of Fife, Perth, Forfar, and Kincardine), with Learmonth of Dairsey (and later the Earl of Crawford) as hereditary bailie—these offices being abolished only in 1748 under the Heritable Jurisdiction Act.

The primate's ecclesiastical jurisdiction included two archdeaconries, of St. Andrews and Lothian, eight rural deaneries, and two hundred and forty-five parishes.

BISHOPS AND ARCHBISHOPS OF ST. ANDREWS.

Turgot, confessor to Queen Margaret, 1107-1115.
Robert, prior of Scone, founded Priory of St. Andrews; got gift of Culdee monastery of Lochleven; built church and tower of St. Rule, 1124-1158.
Arnold or Ernald, abbot of Kelso, began the greater cathedral, 1158-1159.
Richard, chaplain to Malcolm IV., 1163-1177.
Hugh, 1178.
Roger, built the castle 1200, 1188-1202.
William Malvoisine, bishop of Glasgow; introduced Dominicans to Scotland; first bishop buried in the cathedral, 1202-1238.
David Bernham, of Berwick, crowned Alexander III., 1239-1253.
Abel, canon of Glasgow and archdeacon of St. Andrews, 1253-1254.
Gameline, archdeacon of St. Andrews and lord chancellor, 1255-1271.
William Wishart of Pitarrow, lord chancellor, 1273-1279.
William Lamberton, cathedral consecrated (1318) in presence of King Robert Bruce, 1298-1328.
James Bene, consecrated at Rome by Pope John XXII., 1328-1332.
William Landel, consecrated at Avignon by Pope Benedict, 1341-1385.

Walter Trail, an excellent bishop, consecrated by Antipope Clement XVI.; rebuilt castle of St. Andrews, 1386-1401.

Henry Wardlaw, consecrated by Antipope Benedict XIII., founded (1411) the University of St. Andrews. Wardlaw of Torie was one of the greatest of the bishops, originally precentor of Glasgow; built the Guard Bridge, near St. Andrews, 1404-1440.

James Kennedy, bishop of Dunkeld, grandson of Robert III., founded St. Salvador's College; greatest of all the bishops, 1440-1466.

Patrick Graham, bishop of Brechin, uterine brother of Bishop Kennedy, first archbishop in 1472; became insane through oppression, 1466-1478.

William Shevez, archdeacon of St. Andrews, 1478-1496.

James Stewart, second son of James III., duke of Ross and marquis of Ormond, educated by Abbot Shaw of Paisley, made primate at twenty-one, invested by Pope Alexander VI., 1497-1503.

Alexander Stewart, natural son of James IV., educated by Erasmus, made primate, chancellor, abbot of Dunfermline, and prior of Coldingham at eighteen; fell with his father at Flodden, 1506-1513.

Andrew Forman, bishop of Moray, 1514-1522.

James Beaton, archbishop of Glasgow, founded St. Mary's College; burnt Patrick Hamilton, 1522-1539.

David Beaton, nephew of preceding, abbot of Arbroath, cardinal; burnt Wishart; murdered, 1539-1546.

John Hamilton, natural son of first Earl of Arran, abbot of Paisley, bishop of Dunkeld, author of Catechism of 1552, hanged at Stirling, 1549-1571.[1]

The archdeaconry of St. Andrews contained the following deaneries:—Deanery of Fothri, with twenty-five parishes; Fife, twenty-eight; Goverin (Gowrie), twenty-one; Angus, forty; and Mearns, fifteen. The archdeaconry of Lothian contained the following deaneries:—Lindidcu, with forty-four parishes; Lothian, or Haddington, thirty-seven; and Merkis, or Merse, forty-three.

II. Diocese of Glasgow.

The future site of the Cathedral of Glasgow was consecrated as a burial-ground by St. Ninian, who died in 432. The burial-ground was fringed by venerable trees c. 540, when St. Kentigern or Mungo came to it with the body of the hermit Fergus from Kernach on a car said to be drawn by two wild bulls. The spot of this interment is marked in the crypt under the south transept, or "Blackadder's Aisle," with an old inscription in Saxon letters: "THIS IS THE ILE OF CAR. FERGUS." And the spot of St. Mungo's own grave is marked in the crypt by the

[1] For a full account of the Bishops of St. Andrews, see Lyon's "St. Andrews," i. 51–343.

grouping of the pillars to constitute a shrine. At the age of twenty-five St. Mungo was consecrated bishop by one Irish bishop, but after his death in 603 the record of his successors is a complete blank till the refounding of the see under Earl David (c. 1116), afterwards David I. Although the line of bishops and the exact nature of the primitive buildings are unknown, there was still divine worship and the survival of ancient endowments that reached back to St. Mungo's time. What Earl David did was not mainly to bestow new gifts impoverishing his earldom or his throne, but to revive old Church rights to certain lands which were subjected to an investigation, the result of which was embodied in a *Notitia* drawn up by five *juratores seniores homines et sapientiores totius Cumbrie.* Govan, Partick, Cadzow, Renfrew, and Borthwick were among these earliest possessions and churches. Other names recognizable in the old spelling and erroneous copying are Cathcart, Paisley, Conclud, Carntyne, Stobo, Peniacob, Ancrum, Lilliesleaf, Hoddam, Ednam, Abermelk, Dryfesdale, Kelso, Peebles, Morebattle, Rule. Ten other places named are not identifiable at all, or only guessable.[1] William I. granted to the bishop a toft in each of his royal burghs of Munros, Dumfries, Forfar, and Stirling. The cathedral then possessed twenty-five churches, seventeen of which were mensal, and the bishop acquired large accessions of property in lands and churches in Ashkirk, Gillemoreston, Stobhou, Carnwath, Kilbride, Anandale, Hottun, Muckart, Lillisclef, Wilton, Campsy, and Cardross.[2]

The cathedral was erected by Bishop Achaius in 1136, on the site of a wooden structure which had been burned down; but the new fabric having been again destroyed by fire, the foundation of another church was laid in 1181 by Bishop Jocelyn, and the crypt dedicated July 6, 1197. The spire was in progress in 1277. In 1528 Bishop William de Bondington saw the choir completed. In 1291 Edward I. gave certain oaks to Bishop Wishart (Bruce's patriotic friend) to complete the steeple, but the bishop converted them into catapults for the siege of Kirkintilloch Castle. Bishop W. Lauder (1408–25) commenced, and Bishop John Cameron (1425–47) completed the present spire, the chapter-house, and

[1] See Art. "Glasgow" in *Ordnance Gazetteer.* [2] Cosmo Innes, "Sketches," 35.

crypt beneath it. The north aisle was roofed by Bishop Muirhead (1455–73). Before 1480 the nave, begun in the fourteenth century, and the north-west tower were completed. Archbishop Blackadder (1484–1508) built the rood-loft and the stairs of the great crypt, and also the crypt under the south transept. In 1854 the north-western tower (locally known as the "Gutty" Steeple, being of squat shape) and the consistory house, which stood on each side of the great western doorway, were foolishly removed as "excrescences," when it was found on examining their foundations that they were as ancient as the western doorway and gable itself. The bishop's palace or castle, which occupied the site of the Royal Infirmary till 1792, was largely the work of Bishop Cameron (1426–46). A reproduction of it in wood formed one of the principal features of the Glasgow Exhibition of 1888, and contained a great collection of Scottish antiquities. In Bishop Cameron's time there were thirty-two manses of rectors, chiefly in Drygate and Rottenrow, partly in Kirkgate and High Street, which formed a substitute for a cathedral close in Glasgow. In 1501 the cathedral establishment consisted of—dean (Cadzow), precentor (Kilbride), chancellor (Campsie), treasurer (Carnwath), sub-dean (Monkland), archdeacon of Glasgow (Peebles), archdeacon of Teviotdale (Marbottle), sub-chanter (Ancrum), sacrist (Cambuslang). Besides these there were canons and prebendaries of Stobo, Govan, Renfrew, Glasgow I., Blantyre, Carstairs, Cardross, Air, Erskine, Old Roxburgh, Durrisdeer, Mearns, Moffat, Edilston, Glasgow II., Luss, Eaglesham, Kirkmaho, Tarbolton, Killearn, Douglas, Sanquhar, Cumnock, Polmadie, Strathblane, Ashkirk. The sites of thirty-two of the manors or manses belonging to the canons are detailed by M'Ure in his quaint "History of Glasgow." There was a country seat at Lochwood, in Old Monkland, where is Bishop's Loch, and where died Bishop Cameron on Christmas Eve, 1446, after (as is said) a thrice-repeated call to come to judgment in retribution for exactions devoted to building of the castle, part of the cathedral, and manses. Good were it if the old bishops had no worse to answer for than solid and tasteful masonry.

The see was made archiepiscopal in 1491, with four suffragans —viz. Dunkeld, Dunblane, Galloway, and Argyle. Glasgow was

very firm in holding its own against St. Andrews, as appeared in the scandalous fight for precedence within the cathedral between the crossbearers of Archbishops Dunbar and Beaton, in 1545, in presence of the papal nuncio, the patriarch of Aquileia, the riot of rival priests having to be quelled by the Regent Arran.[1] In its prime the see of Glasgow was endowed with magnificent temporal possessions which fully warranted its title of the "Spiritual Dukedom." The archbishops held the lordships of the royalty and baronies of Glasgow, and of eighteen baronies of lands within the sheriffdoms of Lanark, Dunbarton, Ayr, Renfrew, Peebles, Selkirk, Roxburgh, Dumfries, and the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright. Bishop Bondington, in his last year, 1258, established in his see the liberties and customs of Salisbury as regards the internal administration of ecclesiastical affairs, while the "use" or service-book of the same see was adopted not only in Glasgow, but in most of the Scottish dioceses.[2] It has been said[3]—"The edifice which we now behold has seen the English Edward prostrate before its high altar, and heard his vows at the gloomy shrine of St. Kentigern. It witnessed the absolution of Bruce while the Red Cumyn's blood was scarce yet dry upon his dagger. Its walls rang with exhortations that it was better in the eye of heaven to fight for that outlawed homicide than to do battle for the Cross in the Holy Land. In its vestry were the Bruce's Coronation Robes made ready in haste; from its treasury was 'the Banner of Scotland' taken, which waved above the ruined 'Kaiser stuhl' at Scone, when, with maimed rites and a scanty train, heralds proclaimed him 'Robert, king of the Scots.' In a more peaceful age, its chapter-house and crypt sheltered the infant convocations of the university. It has seen a king serving at its altars; for as the Emperor was a canon of Cologne, and the French monarch a prebendary of Tours, so a Scottish sovereign (the devout and chivalrous King James of Flodden) had a stall in the choir and a seat in the chapter of Glasgow."

Besides the high altar, the cathedral had altars of—St. Kentigern (south side of nave); St. Mary (at entrance of choir);

[1] Bellesheim, ii. 171. [2] Innes, "Sketches," 44.
[3] *Quarterly Review*, 84–134, quoted in Gordon's "Scotichronicon," ii. 439.

St. John Baptist (in nave); St. Mary of Consolation; St. Mary of Pity (south entrance of choir); St. Serf; St. Machan (north side of nave, third pillar from rood-loft); St. Blasius; St. Cuthbert the Confessor (both in nave); St. Nicholas (south aisle, first pillar from rood-loft); All Saints (north side of nave); St. Michael the Archangel (behind the great south door westward); St. Stephen and St. Lawrence, martyrs (behind the great altar); Corpus Christi (in nave, fourth pillar from rood-loft); St. James the Apostle (in choir, between St. Stephen and St. Lawrence on the south and St. Martin on the north); Name of Jesus (north side of entrance); St. Thomas of Canterbury, archbishop and martyr (in nave); St. Christopher (in nave); Holy Blude; Darnley Chapel.

In the crypt were altars of—Holy Cross, St. Catherine, St. Martin, Blessed Virgin Mary, St. Kentigern's Tomb, St. Nicholas, St. Peter and St. Paul (between St. Nicholas on the north and St. Andrew on the south), and St. Andrew. Besides these were ten endowed chaplains apart from particular altars.[1] The chartulary specifies nineteen holy relics in shrines of gold, silver, leather, or linen that were carried separately in processions on high days, especially in the stately time of Bishop Cameron.[2]

BISHOPS AND ARCHBISHOPS OF GLASGOW.

John Achaius, tutor of Earl David (David I.), consecrated by Pope Paschal II.; founded cathedral 1136, 1115-1147.
Herbert, Abbot of Kelso, Chancellor of Scotland; constituted the dean and chapter on model of Salisbury, 1147-1164.
Ingelram, Archdeacon of Glasgow and Chancellor, 1164-1174.
Joceline, Abbot of Melrose, enlarged and rebuilt crypt and choir of cathedral after a burning down, 1175-1199.
Hugo de Roxburgh, Archdeacon of Glasgow and Chancellor, 1199-
William Malvicine, translated to St. Andrews, 1200-
Walter, chaplain to King William, 1208-1232.
William de Bondington, Archdeacon of St. Andrews, Chancellor; finished nave of cathedral; introduced "use" of Salisbury, 1233-1258.
John de Cheyam, chaplain to Pope Alexander IV., 1260-1268.
Robert Wishart, patriot friend of Wallace and Bruce, 1272-1316.

[1] See List of Altars in Gordon's "Scotichronicon," ii. 448–450.

[2] See their names in Art. "Glasgow," *Ordnance Gaz. of Scot.* A full inventory of all the ornaments, reliques, and jewels (including books) of the Church of Glasgow, dated 24th March, 1432, is given in Gordon's "Scotichronicon," ii. 451–457. To the diocese of Glasgow, parish by parish, is devoted the whole of the first volume of Cosmo Innes' "Origines Parochiales"—a matchless thesaurus of Church writs and antiquities.

John Wishart, 1319.
John Lindsay, 1322.
William Rae, built old Glasgow Bridge, 1335-1367.
Walter Wardlaw, secretary to David II., cardinal priest, 1368-1389.
Matthew Glendoning, 1389-1408.
William Lauder, began vestry and finished steeple, 1408-1425.
John Cameron, provost of Lincluden, secretary to James I.; built castle tower and manses, 1426-1446.
William Turnbull, Archdeacon of St. Andrews; got bull from Pope Nicholas V. for a college, 1448-1454.
Andrew Muirhead, rector of Cadzow, 1455-1473.
John Laing, High Treasurer, 1474-1482.
Robert Blackader, Bishop of Aberdeen; first Archbishop, 1491, 1484-1508.
James Beaton, younger son of John Beaton of Balfour, bishop elect of Galloway, Treasurer; translated to St. Andrews, 1508-1522.
Gavin Dunbar, Prior of Whithorn, tutor to James V., 1524-1547.
James Beaton, son of James Beaton of Balfarg, nephew of the Cardinal, and grandson to John Beaton of Balfour. At the Reformation retired to France with the writs of his see, and died at Paris in 1603, 1551-1603.[1]

The archdeaconry of Glasgow contained the following deaneries:—Nycht, Nith, or Dumfries, with thirty-one parishes, besides two in Annandale and eight in Galloway; Annandie or Annandale, twenty-eight parishes, besides eight in Eskdale; Kyle, seventeen parishes; Cunningham, fifteen; Carrick, nine; Lennox, seventeen; Rutherglen, thirty-four; Lanark or Clydesdale, twenty-five; and Peebles or Stobo, nineteen. The archdeaconry of Teviotdale contained thirty-six parishes.

III. Diocese of Dunkeld.

Dunkeld (Dunum Keledeorum=Hill of the Culdees) owed its origin to the insecurity of Iona, where, in 806, no fewer than eighty-six of the religious were slain by northern pirates. One substitute for Iona was erected at Kells in Meath in 807. Another substitute was founded at Dunkeld by Constantine,

[1] With the death of this really good and wise prelate in 1603 ended the old hierarchy of Scotland, after serving for five centuries. A very different man was the nephew from his he-goat uncle, the cardinal. Sad was his exile from 1560 to 1603, suffering for the sins of others. Yet he had some sympathy from his old tenants, many of whom continued paying rent for ten years after the Reformation. The writer's ancestor, Walter Scott of Daldowie, is noted in the printed rent-book of the see as making payment on 3rd January and 21st April, 1563; while his kinsman, Martin Rankin of Kenmuir, also in Old Monkland, makes a payment as late as 18th June, 1568. The old Church tenants or "rentallers" were kindly dealt with by the archbishops.

In 1653 the Roman clergy in Scotland were reincorporated as a *Mission*, and governed by Prefects Apostolic till 1694. From 1694 to 1878 they were governed by a Vicar Apostolic. In 1878 a hierarchy was restored, consisting of two archbishops and four bishops.

king of Dalriada and Pictavia, between 807 and 816.[1] After this beginning King Kenneth, in 851,[2] transferred the relics of St. Columba to Dunkeld, whose abbot became head of the Pictish Church; and the Columban clergy, who in 717 had been violently expelled by King Nectan, seem now, partly at least, to have been reinstated. On the death of this first bishop of Fortrenn in 865, the primacy was transferred to Abernethy, and the second abbot of Dunkeld was abbot only. The abbots soon became laymen and hereditary—*e.g.* Duncan, who fell in battle at Duncrub, in 965; and Crinan, son-in-law to Malcolm II., in whose time, in 1027, Dunkeld was entirely burnt. Ethelred, earl of Fife and abbot of Dunkeld, was son of Malcolm III. The bishopric was revived by Alexander I. in the person of Cormac, the Culdee abbot, who became the first bishop under the new system. Cormac is first mentioned as bishop in 1115 in a charter of Scone, but probably was consecrated in 1107, the cathedral being begun in 1127. Bishop William Sinclair (1312) built the choir. Bishop Robert Cardeny (1396) built the nave, also the castle, of which the name survives in "Castle Close." Bishop John Ralston (1448) finished the nave and began the aisle. Bishop Thomas Lauder (1452) built the porch of the south gate and adorned it with statues. He finished the cathedral in 1460, and in 1464 re-dedicated it to St. Columba. He had a fresh series of buildings in the chapter-house (1469) and the Great Tower, 96 feet high and 24 feet square, and to all he added many gifts of vessels and ornaments for the church service. Bishop Brown gifted two large bells named St. George and St. Colm.

The diocese until 1200, from its original connection with Iona, extended westward so far as to include what was then made the new diocese of Argyll, at the disinterested request of Bishop John Scot, who had no Gaelic. Previous to Bishop Brown (1485) the diocese was undivided, like Ross, Caithness, Brechin, and Dunblane, but he subdivided it into four deaneries. There were episcopal residences at Dunkeld, Cluny, Perth, Auchtertool, and Edinburgh, Cluny being the chief and 7 miles from Dunkeld, the intervening land being all the bishop's own, and so wide that there were four different roads available

[1] Skene, "Celtic Scotland," i. 305. [2] Ibid. i. 310.

between the two places. The chapter is said to have been formed in 1127 in place of the Culdees, and reconstituted about the close of the fourteenth century. Bishop Liverance, who died in 1249, first made canons residential. Bishop Bruce gave the Church of Abernethy for prebends to four cathedral or stallar vicars. Bishop Lauder gifted provision for six choristers, and founded three additional prebends—of Alyth, Aberlady, and Muckersy. In 1509 there were seven chaplains for chantry altars.

Besides the high altar there were the following others, all of which implied special endowments:—(1) St. Mary's, on the right of the high altar; (2) St. Michael's; (3) St. Martin's; (4) St. Nicholas'; (5) St. Catharine's; (6) St. John Baptist's; (7) St. Andrew's; (8) Holy Innocents'; (9) All Saints'; (10) St. Ninian's; (11) St. Stephen's; (12) Holy Cross, on rood-loft.

"Bishop Lauder gave to the cathedral in 1461 six standard candlesticks, one chalice, three cruets, two vials, a silver pyx for chrism, a solid pyx of silver for the Eucharist, a holy water vat, two sprinklers, and two censers of silver. At the high altar he painted the reredos or 'antemurale' with the twenty-four miracles of St. Columba, and two images, two pillars, and two angels above it, and added fifteen chandlers in fair fashion, bearing tapers of wax in honour of our Saviour, according to the description in the Apocalypse; two frontals of silk and a pillar for the paschal. Bishop Brown gave suits of vestments of white and of blue, woven with gold, copes of silk in pairs of two colours, three of gold woven work, a tabernacle for the high altar, a gospel lectern of four sides, of brass, with statues of the four evangelists; and the figure of Moses, also in brass, holding up the bookstand with his arms; and behind it was a three-branched candlestick of brass. The choir screens were painted with the images of apostles and saints on the inner and outer sides; and behind the stalls were figures of kings, bishops, and benefactors, to remind the choir of their devotions."[1]

BISHOPS OF DUNKELD.

Cormac, Culdee abbot, became first bishop, 1127.
Gregory, died at Dunkeld, 1130-1169.

[1] Walcott, 209. An excellent condensed history of Dunkeld, in its abbots, bishops, cathedral, and chapels, is given in Marshall's "Historic Scenes in Perthshire." 149–162.

Richard de Prebenda or Provand, chaplain and kinsman to William I., died at Cramond and buried at Inchcolm; helped the church in the treaty of Falaise, 1170-1178.

Walter de Bidun (Betoun?), lord chancellor, and died same year, according to Abbot Mill, 1178.

John Scot, archdeacon of St. Andrews, elected bishop of St. Andrews, but opposed by William I.; having no Gaelic got Argyll disjoined; a good bishop, revered as a saint; died as a monk at Newbottle, 1178-1203.

John of Leicester, archdeacon of Lothian, died at Cramond, buried at Inchcolm; thirteen years bishop, 1200-1213.

Hugo de Sigillo, monk of Arbroath, "the poor man's bishop," 1214.

Gilbert, chaplain to Bishop Hugo, 1216-1236.

Galfrid Liverance, *i.e.* de Liberatione Captivorum = monk of the Trinity Friars, made canons residential and adopted the use of Sarum; died at Tibbermuir and buried at Dunkeld, 1236-1249.

Richard de Inverkeithing, prebendary, chancellor in 1256, but resigned when his seals were stolen from Dean Stutteville, 1250-1272.

Robert de Stutteville, 1272.

Matthew de Crambeth (= Dovehill in Kinross), was put in by Edward I., chamberlain of Scotland, 1288-1305.

William Sinclair or de Sancto Claro (whom Bruce called his "own bishop," and the people "the fechtin bishop;" a brave and patriotic man, whose war-cry at Donibristle against the English invaders is historical: "All ye that love Scotland's honour, follow me"), built the choir of the cathedral; buried at Dunkeld, 1312-1338.

Walter, probably put in by Edward I., c. 1324.

Duncan, an Englishman, probably also by Edward I., c. 1351.

Richard, 1345-1367.

John, 1357-1370.

Michael Monymusk, 1373-1376.

John Peebles, LL.D., canon of Aberdeen, treasurer of Glasgow, archdeacon of St. Andrews, chancellor, 1377-1396.

Robert de Cairney or Cardney, excommunicated by the Pope, but a great benefactor of the see, 1396-1436.

James Kennedy, son of Sir James Kennedy of Dunure, and of Mary, daughter of Robert III., who was four times married; became bishop of St. Andrews, 1438-1440.

Alexander Lauder, parson of Ratho, bishop only from May to October, 1440.

James Bruce, parson of Kilmany, son of Sir Robert Bruce of Clackmannan; had a feud with Macdonachie or Robertson of Strowan; gave Abernethy to four vicars of Dunkeld, 1442-1447.

John Ralston or Ralphston (in Renfrewshire), rector of Cambuslang, provost of Bothwell, dean of Dunkeld; buried at Dunkeld, 1448-1452.

Thomas Lauder, master of Soltra Hospital, tutor to James II.; founded three prebends (Alyth, Aberlady, Muckersy); built the Tay Bridge, and bought a bishop's lodging at Perth and Edinburgh; a model bishop, + 1481, 1452-1476.

James Livingston, rector of Forteviot and Weem, chancellor; buried at Inchcolm, 1476-1483.

George Brown, rector of Tyningham, chancellor of Aberdeen, son of

burgh-treasurer of Dundee; divided the see into four deaneries; procured Gaelic preachers; promoted clerical efficiency; built Castle of Cluny; enlarged the palace at Dunkeld; was probably the best bishop ever in the see, 1485-1514.

Gavin Douglas, provost of St. Giles, parson of Hauch or Prestonkirk, brother to Earl of Angus; translated the Æneid into Scots verse with original poetry prefixed to the several books; buried in Savoy chapel, London, 1516-1522.

Robert Cockburn, bishop of Ross, translated to Dunkeld, 1522-1526.

George Crichton, brother of Crichton of Naughton (in Balmerino), 1527-1543.

John Hamilton, natural son of James, first earl of Arran, abbot of Paisley; translated to St. Andrews, 1545-1549.

Robert Crichton, nephew of Bishop George Crichton, + 1586, 1550-1560.

The diocese of Dunkeld contained the following deaneries:— Atholl and Drumalbane (= Breadalbane), with forty-seven parishes; Angus, five; Fife, Fotheric, and Stratherne, eight; and South of Forth, seven.

IV. Diocese of Aberdeen.

The first Christian settlement at Aberdeen seems to have been by St. Machar or Mauritius, whose day in the calendar is 12th November, and who died c. 610 at Tours. He was a disciple of Columba, and founded a church at the mouth of the Don at a place described by Columba *ubi flumen instar baculi* (with a crook like a crosier) *intrat marc.* Machar was a friend of St. Devenic, and joined with him in evangelizing the north.[1] This foundation was duly recognized in the dedication of the cathedral begun by Bishop Alexander Kininmonth II. (1356–80) to St. Mary and St. Machar. There were at least two earlier structures on the same site.

The exact date of the erection of the see of Aberdeen is unknown, the legend of its original foundation by Malcolm II. (1003–1029) at Mortlach (in Strathspey on the Fiddich, five miles south of Craigellachie), resting on five documents forged probably by Boece. The four clerics called bishops of Mortlach were probably only heads of the monastery.[2] From Mortlach the see was said to have been transferred by David I. (1124–53) to Aberdeen, but all that is certain is that a charter granted by the Mormaer or Earl of Buchan for refounding the church

[1] Forbes' "Kalendars," 393.

[2] Hill Burton, i. 341, note; Pref. Regist. Aberdeen; Skene, "Celtic Scotland," ii. 378.

of Deer early in David's reign was witnessed by "Nectan, bishop of Aberdeen;" whilst a bull by Pope Adrian IV. confirmed in 1157 to Edward, bishop of Aberdeen, the church of Aberdeen and the church of St. Machar, with the town of Old Aberdeen and other lands, in which are included the monastery of Cloveth and the town and monastery of Murthillach, with five churches and the lands belonging to them. "There is here," says Dr. Skene, "no allusion to Murthillach having been an episcopal see, the seat of which had been transferred to Aberdeen. The designation of 'monastery' points unequivocally to these churches having been old Columban monasteries; and accordingly we find that Murthillach was dedicated to St. Molocus, or Moluoc, the founder of the churches of Lismore and Rosemarky in the sixth century."

In 1256 the chapter was completed, when Bishop Ramsay appointed thirteen prebendaries, dean (Kirktoun=Old Aberdeen), chaunter (Auchterless), chancellor (Birse), treasurer (Daviot), archdeacon (Rayne). *Prebendaries*—Balhelvy, 1256; Kincardyn, 1330; Turreff, 1412; Kynkell, 1480; Rathven, 1445; Monymusk, 1445. *Deacons*—Murthlac, Oyne, 1256; Cruden, 1256; Ellone, 1325; Methlac, 1362; Crimond, 1262; Codilstan or Coldstone, 1414. *Sub-deacons*—Banchory-Devenic, 1256; Clat Tullynestle, 1376; Forbes, 1325; Invernochty, Strathtie with Auchendour, 1356; Aberdour, 1318; Lonmay, 1314; Philorth, 1361; Old Deir, 1256; Drumoak, 1368; St. Nicholas, St. Mary ad Nives, 1499.

Bishop Alexander Kininmonth in 1357 demolished the remains of the old church (begun by Bishop Hugh de Benham, +1282, and continued by Bishop Henry le Chen his successor, +1328), and laid the foundation of another, but died before the walls were 18 feet high. Bishop Lichtoun, in 1424–40, built St. John's aisle, or north wing of the transept, laid the foundations of the choir and three towers, and advanced the works. His epitaph says that he built "separately the fabric of the church from the choir station [*i.e.* the rood-loft, where the last station of the procession halted] up to the top of the walls." A ceiling of red fir was added, and the church was roofed and paved in 1445 by Bishop Lyndsay. Bishop Spens repaired the palace and canons' manses in the canonry (burnt in 1233 by

an English fleet), and added the stalls and throne in 1460, with glazing for the windows. Bishop Elphinstone completed the great central tower (of freestone, all the rest being of granite), which formed a sea-mark, and in 1489 furnished it with fourteen bells, three of which were suspended upon "oak trees." He then proceeded with the choir, but there was only a small portion completed when he died in 1514, the high altar being placed in Bishop Dunbar's aisle. This bishop completed the western towers and the south wing of the transept in 1522. He also ceiled the nave with oak, adorning it with the arms of the chief benefactors—the architect being James Wynter of Angus. Bishop Stewart built the consistory or chapter-house in 1532. The north-west tower contained the charter-house or muniment room.[1] The cathedral tower fell through mismanagement in 1688. There remains a nave of five bays, 126 feet by 67·6, with pointed arches and round pillars, some of which have flowered capitals well worked; traces of a choir that was aisleless, and possibly measured 70 feet; and a fragment of the south wing of the transept. There is a south porch with a parvis or upper chamber. The west front, which is massive and imposing, presents a gabled porch under seven windows, tall and of one light, with round heads trefoiled. On the sides are flanking towers, machicolated, with short octagonal spires, in all 113 feet high. The dormer windows in the clerestory are single lights, round-headed. There is no triforium. The richly carved pulpit remains.

The bishop's palace, on the east side of the cathedral, with the manses on the north, was burnt in 1233 by an English fleet. A later palace (c. 1470), with a large fair court and four high towers, stood near the site of the house of the modern divinity professor. To the south stood the deanery, where is now Old Machar Manse. The chaplain's court, built in 1519, contained chambers for twenty vicars, who served at the altars of St. Catharine, St. Mary, St. Nicholas, St. Devenic, St. Michael, St. Andrew, St. Maurice, St. Dominic, St. Paul, and the chapter altar. Other altars were, Our Lady of Pity (in the vault), St. Peter, St. Duthac, St. Clement, Our Lady (in the south wing), St. John, and Holy Rood. The precinct or canonry formed a

[1] Walcott, 97.

sanctuary, and held a girth or sanctuary cross. To the west of the cathedral was an hospital, founded in 1532 by Bishop Gavin Dunbar, for twelve poor bedesmen (its revenues are now distributed to eighteen men in their own homes). Another hospital and church (St. Peter's) stood within Spital burying-ground, near the south end of the town; and still another Church, St. Mary ad Nives, or Snow Kirk, stood behind houses a little north-west of Spital burying-ground—both of which, by Act of Parliament in 1583, were added to the cathedral church. An inventory of the cathedral, dated 7th July, 1559, is given by Walcott (pp. 100–103), extremely interesting for its details of church plate, ornaments, cloths, and robes. Originally the diocese had only *three* rural deaneries—Mar, Buchan, and Garioch; later additions were Buyn and Aberdeen. In 1547 is mentioned a deanery of Formartine, between Ythan and Don, with sixteen parishes. The best guide to the churches in the diocese is "Collections for a History of the Shires of Aberdeen and Banff," by the Spalding Club (two vols., 1843).[1]

BISHOPS OF ABERDEEN.

Nectan, 1125-1154.
Edward, chancellor of Scotland in 1140, 1154-1171.
Matthew, 1172-1199.
John, prior of Kelso, 1200-1207.
Adam de Crail, 1228.
Gilbert de Stirling, 1228-1239.
Ralph de Lambley, abbot of Arbroath, preached barefoot through the diocese, 1247.
Peter de Ramsay, drew up Cathedral Statutes, 1256.
Robert Poitou, an Englishman, 1256-1270.
Hugh de Benham, consecrated by Pope Martin at Rome, sat in Council of Lyons in 1274, 1282.
Henry le Chen, founded prebend of Ellon, 1328.
Alexander de Kyninmond, built two palaces, 13—.
William de Deyn, also a builder, reformed the clergy and endowed vicarage of Old Aberdeen, 1350.
John Rait, D.D., 1355.
Alexander de Kynimmond II., 1356-1380.
Adam de Tyninghame, dean of Aberdeen, 1389.
Gilbert de Greenlaw, chancellor of Scotland, 1422.
Henry de Lichton, bishop of Moray, 1422-1440.

[1] The Breviary of Aberdeen, first printed in 1508 (reprinted in 1853 in full, and its Kalendar reprinted in 1872 by Bishop Forbes in "Kalendars of Scottish Saints"), is perhaps the best work of its kind, and had for its chief compiler the great Bishop Elphinstone, a careful account of whose noble career is given by Cosmo Innes, "Sketches," 260–267.

Ingelram de Lindesay, LL.D., paved and roofed cathedral, 1441-1458.
Thomas Spens, bishop of Galloway, keeper of Privy Seal, 1459-1480.
Robert Blackader, prebendary of Glasgow, translated to Glasgow, 1480-1484.
William Elphinston, LL.D., bishop of Ross, chancellor and Privy Seal, founder of King's College; a great and good bishop; learned, pure, and generous, 1484-1514.
Alexander Gordon, cousin of Earl of Huntly, consecrated and died in 1515.
Gavin Dunbar, archdeacon of St. Andrews, 1519-1532.
William Stewart, LL.D., son of Sir Thomas Stewart of Minto, provost of Lincluden, ambassador to England, 1531-1545.
William Gordon, fourth son of Earl of Huntly; a swinish man, as described by Bishop Spottiswood, and rebuked in 1559 by his own dean and canons in council, 1541-1577.

The diocese of Aberdeen contained the following deaneries:—Deanery of Mar, with twenty-nine parishes; Buchan, twenty-one; Buyn, fourteen; Garuiach, nineteen; and Aberdeen, eleven.

V. Diocese of Moray.

Previous to Elgin, the see was originally and successively at Birnay, Kinnedor, and Spynie, without a proper cathedral. The bishopric was founded by Alexander I. shortly after his accession (1107). But it was not till Bricius, the sixth bishop (1203–1221), made application to Pope Innocent III. to have a fixed cathedral, and the Pope ordered it to be at Spynie, that substantial building operations began, which ended somewhat selfishly in a famous Bishop's palace there, with a moderate extension of the parish church. On the death of Bricius, his successor, Bishop Andrew de Moravia, coming in the reign of Elgin's great benefactor, Alexander II., and having obtained from him an extensive site on the banks of the Lossie, made in 1223 fresh application to Pope Honorius, representing the solitary unprotected site of Spynie, and its distance from market, and praying that it might be translated to Elgin, and there settled at the then existing Church of the Holy Trinity, a little to the north-east of the town, adding as an additional reason that the change was desired not only by the chapter, but also by the king. On 10th April, 1224, the Pope issued a bull directed to the Bishop of Caithness, the Abbot of Kinloss, and the Dean of Ross, empowering them to make the desired change if they should see fit. These having met at Elgin, 19th July, 1224, appointed the said Church of the Holy Trinity to be the cathe-

dral church of the diocese of Moray, and so to remain in all time coming; and on the same day the foundation stone was laid with all due pomp and ceremony. Bishop Andrew lived for eighteen years after, and was able to carry the building far towards completion, if not actually to finish it. This building had an untimely end, for, as recorded by Fordun, in 1270 the cathedral of Elgin and the houses of the canons were burned —he does not say whether by accident or design. If Fordun is correct, it was soon after this that the more famous cathedral arose whose ruins are still the glory of Elgin. Most writers on the cathedral, however (especially Lachlan Shaw in his "History of the Province of Moray," and Dr. Gordon, his latest editor), pass over this part of Fordun's Chronicle, and speak of the cathedral as lasting 166 years—*i.e.* from the death of Bishop Andrew de Moravia, in 1242, till the burning, in 1390, by the brutal or mad Earl of Badenoch, Alexander Stewart, son of Robert II. Probably the burning of 1270 was less destructive than that of 1390, and there were two liberal and *building* bishops, Archibald (1253–1298) and David Moray (1299–1326), either or both of whom, having long episcopates, could have repaired the injury done to the church of Andrew de Moravia.

After the burning of 1390, Bishop Bur or Barr sent a plaintive appeal to the king for aid and reparation, and the "Wolf of Badenoch" was at last compelled to yield, when, on condition that he should make satisfaction to the bishop and church of Moray, and obtain absolution from the Pope, he was absolved by the Bishop of St. Andrews in the Blackfriars Church of Perth. Bishop Bur pressed on the rebuilding of his cathedral, which was continued by his successors, Bishop Spynie and Bishop Innes. At the death of the latter, in 1414, it was still unfinished, and at the meeting of chapter for the election of a successor, the canons nobly agreed that whichever of them was elected bishop should devote a third of the revenue to building, until the cathedral was restored. After this great and long effort the central tower and spire, 198 feet in height, fell in 1506, were rebuilt between 1507 and 1538, to fall again in 1710.

The dimensions of the cathedral are—extreme length, including western towers, 289 feet; breadth of nave and side aisles, 87 feet; breadth of choir, including walls and aisles, 79 feet;

length across transepts, including walls, 120 feet; height of western towers, 84 feet; eastern turrets, 60 feet; height of grand entrance, 24 feet; height of chapter-house, 34 feet; breadth of chapter-house, including walls, 37 feet; height of great west window, 27 feet; diameter of east circular window, 12 feet; height of side walls, 43 feet; breadth of side aisles, 18 feet.

The shires of Elgin, Forres, and Nairn, with parts of Inverness and Banff, were comprised in the diocese, a large portion of which is level and fertile, enjoying one of the best climates in Scotland, and producing wheat and fruit equal to those of any part of the Lothians. The bishop, as usual, had within his diocese civil and ecclesiastical courts and relative officers. The cathedral dignitaries were—dean (Auldearn), archdeacon (Forres), chanter (Alves), treasurer (Kineddar), chancellor (Inveraven), sub-dean (Dallas), sub-chanter (Rafford).

The chapter consisted of twenty-two canons, of whom eight were founded by Bishop Bricius, and twenty-two by Bishop Andrew de Moravia. In its constitution the chapter was on the model of Lincoln.[1] The canons resided within the canonry or "college," which had a stone wall four yards high and 900 yards circuit, inclosing cathedral, canons' houses, and churchyard. Outside this precinct, toward the city of Elgin, was a small burgh dependent on the bishop and college. Each of the five dignitaries—viz. dean, archdeacon, chanter, treasurer, and chancellor—had four acres of land at Elgin, and each canon had two acres; besides which each of the twenty-two canons had a toft of land for a manse. On the north-west of the cathedral are the remains of palace, deanery, and manses, of the brave days of old. With the exception of St. Andrews and Kirkwall, no Scottish city is so rich in consecrated memorials. The college is marked in North College Street and South College Street, and in the modern houses called North College and South College—the former once the residence of the dean (whose memory survives in Deanshaugh and Dean's Crook on the Lossie), the latter the residence of the sub-dean. Duffus manse and Unthank manse stood at the north end of King Street till beyond 1800.

[1] Grub, i. 277.

Regarding the revenues of the see, Lachlan Shaw[1] says:—"The rental of the sheriffdom of Elgin and Forres, as it was made up and set down and subscribed by the Commissioners of Forres, the 30th May, 1667, was £65,603 2*s.* 11*d.* Scots money, and shows that the Church had lands in almost all the parishes within the diocese, besides some parishes—as Birnie, Kenedar, Ogston, St. Andrews, Laggan—that wholly belonged to it. The said rental is only the annuity or feu-duty now paid out of these lands, of which the bishop was formerly the proprietor and received the whole real rent. But these rich revenues were so dilapidated and sold, particularly by Bishop Patrick Hepburn, that in the year 1563, when an account of all ecclesiastical benefices was taken, the rent of the bishopric of Moray, as then given up and recorded in the Book of Assumption, was as under: 'Money, £1649 7*s.* 7*d.*; wheat, 10 bolls; barley, 77 chalders 6 bolls 3 firlots 2 pecks; oats, 2 chalders 8 bolls; salmon, 8 lasts; poultry, 223.' The lands which in 1563 paid this rent, no doubt pay at this time [*i.e.* 1775] more than £3000 sterling. Besides, it was found and complained of at that time that full rents were not given up, and scarce one-half of the lands of this diocese remained unsold. To the rental ought likewise to be added the revenue arising from the *regality* of Spynie and from the *commissariots* of Moray and Inverness, which before the Reformation was very considerable."

It was a melancholy close to so long and glorious a history of devout gifts, grand architecture, and solemn ritual that a monster like Bishop Patrick Hepburn (1535–1573) should bring up the rear. He was the son of the Earl of Bothwell and prior of St. Andrews, uncle also and abettor of the murderer of Darnley, and one of the group of he-goat bishops (others being Beaton of St. Andrews, Gordon of Aberdeen, and Chisholm of Dunblane) whose public and shameless debaucheries made defence of the old Church hopeless at the Reformation. Bishop Hepburn not only acknowledged, but (as recorded by Knox) boasted of thirteen concubines, seven of whom were men's wives. Letters of legitimation under the Great Seal of State passed for ten of this villain's bastard children; besides

[1] Gordon's edition, iii. 301.

which he frightfully squandered the property of his see by fraudulent tacks of Church lands from 1540 onwards, as shown in detail in Shaw's "History of Moray."

BISHOPS OF MORAY.

Gregory, 1115.
William, in Rome, 1160, and made legate, c. 1140-1161.
Felix, 1162.
Simon de Tonei, monk of Melrose, buried at Birnay, 1171-1184.
Richard, chaplain to William I., buried at Spynie, 1187-1203.
Bricius de Douglas, prior of Lesmahago, fixed see at Spynie; founded chapter of eight canons on pattern of Lincoln; at Lateran Council in Rome in 1215, 1203-1221.
Andrew de Moravia, dean of Moray, founded cathedral at Elgin, 1221-1242.
Simon, dean in 1232, 1244-1253.
Archibald, dean, built Kineddar palace, 1253-1298.
David Moray, founder of Scots College at Paris in 1325, consecrated at Avignon; excommunicated in 1306 at instance of Edward I., 1299-1326.
John Pilmore, son of a Dundee burgess, consecrated at Avignon; helped Scots College at Paris, 1326-1362.
Alexander Barr, LL.B., consecrated at Avignon, harassed by "the Wolf of Badenoch," 1362-1397.
William de Spynie, LL.D., precentor, consecrated at Avignon, 1397-1406.
John Innes, LL.B., parson of Duffus, archdeacon of Caithness, consecrated at Avignon. On his death the chapter agreed to give a third of revenue to see to repair the cathedral. 1407-1414.
Henry de Leighton, LL.D., parson of Duffus, of the Leightons of Usan, near Montrose; translated to Aberdeen, 1414-1424.
David, 1424-1429.
Columba de Dunbar, provost of Dunbar in 1411, 1429-1435.
John Winchester, LL.B., provost of Lincluden; came with James I. from England as chaplain, 1437-1458.
James Stewart, of family of Lorn, dean, lord treasurer, 1459-1461.
David Stewart, brother of last, parson of Spynie; built "David's Tower" at Spynie, 1462-1476.
William Tulloch, bishop of Orkney, 1477-1482.
Andrew Stewart, son of Black Knight of Lorn, dean, rector of Monkland, provost of Lincluden, 1482-1501.
Andrew Forman, son of laird of Hutton; translated to St. Andrews, 1501-1514.
James Hepburn, third son of Lord Hailes, rector of Partoun, abbot of Dunfermline, 1516-1524.
Robert Shaw, son of Laird of Sauchie, abbot of Paisley, 1524-1527.
Alexander Stewart, son of Alexander, duke of Albany, and grandson of James II., prior of Whithorn, abbot of Inchaffray and of Scone, 1527-1534.
Patrick Hepburn, son of Earl of Bothwell, prior of St. Andrews; commendator of Scone; robbed the see by fraudulent tacks, and lived a disgraceful life, 1535-1573.

The diocese of Moray contained the following deaneries:—Elgin, with twenty-four parishes; Inverness, twenty; Strathspey, fourteen; and Strabolgy, nineteen.

VI. Diocese of Brechin.

The see was founded in 1150 by David I., and re-dedicated to the Holy Trinity. Previously there had been a Culdee monastery devoted by King Kenneth (son of Malcolm), 971–995, to the Holy Trinity—a common and favourite dedication among the Culdees. After Kenneth thus "gave the great city to the Lord," we next hear of Brechin in two charters of David I. to the church of Deer—the first one witnessed in 1132 by Leot, abbot, and the second in 1153 by Samson, bishop of Brechin; so that between these dates—most probably about 1150—the abbot appears to have become the bishop, the abbacy passing to lay hereditary abbots, and the Culdees being first conjoined with, next (1218) distinguished from, and lastly (1248) entirely superseded by, the chapter.[1]

The round tower of Brechin, attached to the south-west angle of the cathedral, is by far the most noted feature of the place. From a round, square-edged plinth, it rises to a height of $86\frac{3}{4}$ feet, or including the later conical stone roof, $101\frac{3}{4}$ feet, and it is perfectly circular throughout, tapering regularly from an internal diameter of $7\frac{2}{3}$ feet at the base to one of $6\frac{7}{8}$ feet at the top, whilst the wall's thickness also diminishes from $4\frac{1}{6}$ to $2\frac{5}{6}$ feet. It is built in sixty irregular courses, of blocks of reddish-gray sandstone, dressed to the curve, but squared at neither top nor bottom; within, string-courses divide it into seven storeys, the topmost lighted by four rather large apertures facing the cardinal points. A western doorway, $6\frac{2}{3}$ feet from the ground, has inclined jambs and a semicircular head, all three hewn from single blocks, and the arch being rudely sculptured with a crucifix, each jamb with a bishop bearing a pastoral staff, each corner of the sill with a nondescript couching animal. Probably the tower dates from Kenneth's reign (971–995). Only two others similar exist in Scotland, at Abernethy and Eglishay in Orkney. Four have disappeared—viz. Deerness, in Orkney; West Burray, Tingwall, and Ireland Head, all three in Shetland.

[1] Skene, "Celtic Scotland," ii. 332–400.

Culdee abbots continued at Brechin till 1219, and then eleven of the old benefices were erected into canonries. A list of eight abbots is preserved: Artgus, primate of Fortrenn, +865; Duncan, slain, 965; Crinan, slain in battle, 1040; Leod, 1151; Dovenald, 1178; Brice, prior, 1180; Mallebryd, prior, 1218, or rather 1202–1222; John, abbot, 1219. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, here and at Abernethy, the *abbot* was a layman, whose title and benefice were hereditary, whilst the *prior* discharged the ecclesiastical duties. After the eleven old benefices were made canonries, Finhaven and Lethnot were added later, and these thirteen, with the bishop as rector of Brechin, formed the chapter. The chapter was constituted in 1372, and consisted of—dean, præcentor (Stracathro), chancellor, treasurer, archdeacon (Strahan), bishops choral vicar, pensionar, sub-dean, with canons and prebendaries of Kylmoir, Buthergill, Guthrie, Forthnevyn in 1474, Glenbervy in 1384, Lethnot in 1384, Logie John, Muneky, Dunychtyne, and Craig. Four priests vicar and six choristers lived in a house together in 1429. There were altars of St. Thomas the Martyr, St. Catharine, St. Ninian, St. Christopher, Holy Trinity, Holy Cross (with "Maidlin" or St. Mary Magdalene Chapel, and chapel of Carmyllie in Panbryd), St. Mary (two chaplaincies in 1360 from Dun). The bishops had palaces or castles at Brechin, Fearn (seven miles west of Brechin, and in diocese of Dunkeld), and Farnell.

The cathedral, founded about 1150, and added to at various periods, was a plain cruciform building, comprising an aisleless choir (84½ feet long), pure early first-pointed in style; north and south transepts; and a nave of five bays with aisles (114 × 58 feet) terminating westward in a tower on the north-west corner, and a large four-light window, almost of flamboyant style, over the western arched doorway, the gable overhead being crow-stepped. The north-west tower is of finely jointed masonry, in four storeys, with a low octagonal spire, having dormer windows, and 128 feet high, built by Bishop Patrick de Leuchars (1351–1373). The tower has a belfry turret at the north-east angle, and in the belfry three ancient bells. The basement of this broad square tower, which is the best surviving feature of the building, contains a fine solid

vaulted chamber, probably the old chapter-house. In 1806–8 a cheap and ignorant reconstruction of the side walls and roof of the nave, including a part of the choir, but excluding the eastern end and the north and south transepts, provided a modern parish church, which happily retains the old pillars, but is savagely disfigured by choking wooden galleries. Jervise[1] says "the cathedral had twenty-three churches and chapels attached to it, *curiously scattered*."[2]

BISHOPS OF BRECHIN.

T., 1156.
Samson, 1158.
Radolph, abbot of Melrose, 1178-1198.
(Robert Mar, 1219.)
Hugo, 1219.
Gregory, archdeacon, 1225-1247.
Gilbert, 1247-1249.
Albin, precentor, 1248-1269.
William de Kilconcath, rector of Dominicans in Perth, died at Rome, 1260-1275.
Edward, monk of Cupar Angus, travelling preacher, c. 1280.
Robert, archdeacon, 1284-1285.
William, in 1290 addressed Edward I., 1286-1303.
John de Kinninmond (in Fife), 1304-1325.
Adam, consecrated 1328, 1327-1350.
Philip, dean, 1350-1351.
Patrick de Leuchars, rector of Tyningham, lord chancellor, consecrated at Avignon, 1351-1373.
Stephen, founded prebend of Lethnot, 1374-1384.
Walter Forester of Garden (Stirlingshire), canon of Aberdeen, secretary of state, 1400-1416.
John de Carnoth or Crennach (probably Carnock in St. Ninians), lord chancellor; accompanied Princess Margaret, daughter of James I., to France, 1426-1454.
Robert, 1454.
George de Shoreswood of Bedshiel, Berwickskire, rector of Coulter, chancellor of Brechin, and lord chancellor, 1454-1462.
Patrick Graham, son of Lord Graham, and nephew to James I. by Lady Mary Stewart, daughter of Robert III., translated to St. Andrews; a truly good man, who was very ill used later as the first archbishop in Scotland, 1463-1466.
John Balfour, 1466-1501.
Walter Meldrum, 1488-1512.
John Hepburn, called bishop in 1517, consecrated 1523-1558.
John Sinclair, dean of Restalrig, president of court of Session, of the

[1] "Memorials of Angus and Mearns," i. 175.
[2] The best list of bishops is that given by Cosmo Innes, Preface vi.-xvi., "Registrum Episc. Brechinensis," Bannatyne Club.

Roslin family; married Queen Mary to Darnley in Holyrood Chapel, 29th July, 1565, 1565-1566.

The diocese of Brechin contained thirty parishes.

VII. Diocese of Dunblane.

Like Brechin, Dunblane was formed into a bishopric by David I. out of the old Pictish bishopric of Abernethy, which in the division was allotted as a parish to Dunblane. The date of erection was previous to 1150—some say 1140. Dunblane was already a Columban, and (notwithstanding Dr. Skene's argument to the contrary[1]) also a Culdee settlement. The church dates back to the seventh century, and was an offshoot of the church of Kingarth in Bute, for its founder was St. Blane. He was of the race of the Irish Picts, and nephew of that Bishop Cathan who founded Kingarth: he was himself bishop of that church, and his mother was a daughter of King Aidan of Dalriada. Dunblane and its church were burnt under Kenneth MacAlpin (844–860) by the Britons of Strathclyde, and in 912 were ravaged by Danish pirates headed by Rognwald.

"At Dunblane," says Goodall,[2] "the Culdees continued near a hundred years longer than at Dunkeld. Cormac Malpol, their prior, with Michael, parson of Mothil, and Macbeath, his chaplain, are witnesses to a confirmation by William, bishop of Dunblane (1210 ——), of a gift of the Church of Kincardine to the monks of Cambuskenneth to be seen in their Chartulary, fol. 80; and Malpol, the prior, and Michael and Malcolm, Culdees, are witnesses to a charter by Simon, bishop of Dunblane (1170 ——), one of William's predecessors.[3]

"At last, in the year 1240, the election of the bishop of that see was devolved upon canons-regular, by a mandate of Pope Gregory IX., which was obtained in this manner: Clement, bishop of Dunblane, went to Rome, and represented to that Pope, how of old time his bishopric had been vacant upwards of a hundred years, during which period almost all the revenues were seized by the seculars; and although in process of time there had been several bishops instituted, yet, by their simplicity or negligence, the former dilapidations were not re-

[1] II. 403. [2] Preliminary Dissertation in Keith's "Bishops," iv.
[3] See Crawford's "Officers of State," 6.

covered, but, on the contrary, the remainder was almost quite alienated; so that, for near ten years, a proper person could not be found to accept of the charge; that the case having been laid before the Pope, he had committed the trust of supplying that vacancy to the bishops of St. Andrews, Dunkeld, and Brechin, who made choice of this Clement; but he found his church so desolate that he had not where to lay his head in his cathedral: there was no college there, only a rural chaplain performed divine service in the church that had its roof uncovered; and the revenues of the see were so small that they could hardly afford him maintenance for one half of the year.

"To remedy these evils, the Pope appointed William and Geoffry, the bishops of Glasgow and Dunkeld, to visit the Church of Dunblane; and if they should find these things to be as represented, he authorized them to cause the fourth part of the tithes of all the parish churches within that diocy to be assigned to the bishop thereof; who, after reserving out of these tithes so much as should be proper for his own sustenance, was, by the advice of these two bishops and other expert persons, to assign the rest to a dean and canons, whom the Pope enjoined to be settled there, if these matters could be brought about without great offence; or, if otherwise, he ordered that the fourth of the tithes of all such churches of the diocy as were in the hands of seculars should be assigned to the bishop, and that the bishop's seat should be translated to St. John's monastery of canons-regular (*i.e.* Inchaffray) within that diocy, and appointed that these canons should have the election of the bishop when a vacancy should happen thereafter."

As the bishop's seat was not transferred from Dunblane to Inchaffray, we may infer that the *former* part of the alternative was carried out—viz. that dean and canons were found for Dunblane, and the bishop also provided for out of the fourth of the tithes of all churches in the diocese. The decay of clerics at Dunblane in Bishop Clement's time (1233–1258) may as well have applied to *Keledei* declining there, and does not imply that they never were there but existed only at Muthill (13 miles to the north), and that the Culdees of Muthill, being in the diocese of Dunblane, were called Culdees of

Dunblane. "We find," says Skene,[1] "the *Keledei* with their prior at Muthill from 1178 to 1214,[2] when they disappear from the records, and Muthill becomes the seat of the dean of Dunblane, who had already taken precedence of the prior of the *Keledei*. It is probable that, under the growing importance of Dunblane as a cathedral establishment, the possessions of the *Keledei* had fallen into secular hands." This would be the more easy as the monastery of the Culdees was a distinct institution about a mile south of the church and village of Muthill.

The foundation of the present cathedral is attributed to Bishop Clement, originally a monk who received the tonsure from St. Dominic himself. The cathedral which he left has since his day been extended both to east and westward; and what he built he joined on to the more ancient square and perpendicular tower. The cathedral consists of an aisled, eight-bayed nave (130 by 58 feet, and 50 feet high), an aisleless choir (80 by 30 feet), with a chapter-house, sacristy, or lady chapel, to the north. The nave is almost entirely pure first-pointed. In the clerestory the windows are of two lights, with a foiled circle set over them, plainly treated outside, but elaborated by a range of shafted arches running continuously in front of the windows within, so much apart from them as to leave a narrow passage round the building in the thickness of the wall. The east window is a peculiar triplicate, with the centre light much taller and wider than the others. The west front has over the doorway and its blind-arch on either side three very long and narrow two-light windows of equal height, with a cinquefoil in the head of the central window and a quatrefoil in the head of the side windows; whilst above is a vesica, set within a bevelled fringe of bay-leaves, arranged zigzagwise, with their points in contact—the last the subject of a well-known rhapsody by Ruskin. The root of the cathedral history in this case lies in the tower; it stands awkwardly a little out of line in the south aisle of the nave, an evident remnant of an older church, exactly like the similar tower in Muthill, of the eleventh century, retained in a church built c. 1430. A tower almost exactly similar, but more ornate, probably twenty or thirty years later

[1] II. 404. [2] Reeves' "British Culdees," Evidences, S., 141.

in date, exists at Dunning, in the same diocese, and also a Celtic church settlement associated with St. Serf. The old Culdee church of Markinch has a tower of the same peculiar style, with a square, upright, saddle-backed roof, and crow-stepped gables. Some vestiges remain of the bishop's palace, overlooking the Allan on the south-west of the cathedral; and the triangular space in front of the south side of the cathedral, and forming the end of the high street, has some old houses which are believed to have been canons' manses.

The chapter consisted of—dean (Muthill), præcentor, chancellor, treasurer, archdeacon; *Prebendaries*—Abbot of Cambuskenneth in 1298, Abbot of Arbroath for Abernethy from 1240: Crieff *primo* (probably parish of), Crieff *secundo* (probably St. Thomas at Milnab), Logie, Fordishall, Kinkell, Kippen, Monzie, Comrie. Eighteen finely carved oak stalls of the dignitaries and canons belonging to the sixteenth century still survive. Other carved work was destroyed in 1559 by the Prior of St. Andrews and the Earl of Argyll. The line of bishops ended with three of the neighbouring family of Chisholm of Cromlix. Bishop James Chisholm was eldest son of Edmund Chisholm, and was a good administrator. Bishop William Chisholm, his half-brother, was an ecclesiastic of the worst possible type for fornication, church robbery, and persecution of so-called heretics. Bishop William Chisholm, nephew of the robber-bishop, became after the Reformation a Carthusian monk at Lyons. He is supposed to have taken with him the writs of the see, which have been lost. Marshall[1] gives an account of this branch of Chisholms. The same writer says,[2] "Among the sepulchral monuments in the cathedral is that of Malise, eighth earl of Strathearn, and his countess. It is in the vestry of the choir, and is a flat block of gritstone, having on it full-sized figures of the earl and countess. When discovered in the choir, the block was above a coffin of lead with date 1271. In the centre of the choir is the dust of Lady Margaret Drummond, mistress (but probably privately married) of James IV., and her sisters the Ladies Euphemia and Sybilla, daughters of Lord Drummond, who were poisoned (apparently to clear the way for the king's marriage to the Princess Mary of England in 1503). Their

[1] "Hist. Scenes in Perthshire," 346. [2] Ibid. 343.

remains were deposited here by permission of their uncle, Sir William Drummond, then dean of Dunblane. Three blue slabs covered and marked their resting-place. The recumbent figure attired in pontifical vestments and mitre, and which is in a niche of the wall under a window of the choir, on the right of the pulpit, is supposed to represent Bishop Finlay Dermock, and to be his sepulchral monument. The other recumbent figure under one of the windows of the nave represents Bishop Michael Ochiltree, who greatly added to the rich adornments of the cathedral."

BISHOPS OF DUNBLANE.

Laurence, attests a charter of Malcolm IV., 1160.

Simon, 1170.

Jonathan, archdeacon, buried at Inchaffray. Great endowment of the see by Gilbert, earl of Stratherne, c. 1195-1210.

William de Bosco, chancellor, 1210.

Abraham, 1220 to c. 1223.

Osbert, abbot of Cambuskenneth, +1231.

Clement, a Dominican friar, consecrated by Bishop William of St. Andrews at the Stow Church of Wedale; founded cathedral; made exaggerated wail of poverty to the Pope, who in 1238 appointed a commission of inquiry, 1233-1258.

Robert de Prebenda, dean, ambassador in 1277 to Edward I.; in 1265 was Conservator of Council at Perth, 1258-1283.

William, one of the arbiters between John Baliol and Bruce, 1290 to c. 1292.

Nicholas de Balmyle, monk of Arbroath, parson of Calder, lord chancellor, 1307-1320.

Maurice, abbot of Inchaffray, Bruce's chaplain at Bannockburn with crosier of St. Fillan; a brave patriot priest, with the old piety that reverenced relics, yet was true and fervent, 1320-1347.

William, 1347-1361.

Walter de Cambuslang or Conentre, 1362-1370.

Andrew, seals Act for succession of crown at Scone, 1st April, 1373.

Dougal, c. 1380-1399.

Finlay Dermoch, built bridge over Allan Water, tomb in cathedral on north side of nave, 1400-1419.

William Stephen, divinity-reader in 1411 at St. Andrews, Conservator of Council of Perth in 1420, 1420-1429.

Michael Ochiltree, dean in 1425, built Knaik Bridge at Ardoch, Bishop's Bridge at Culdees; rebuilt Culdee Church at Muthill; crowned James II. in 1437 at Holyrood, 1429-1447.

Robert Lauder, sent on several embassies, founder of several prebends, 1448-1458.

Thomas, 1459.

John Hepburn, a lord of session, 1467 to c. 1479.

James Chisholm, son of Edward Chisholm of Cromlix, chaplain to James III., 1534; a careful administrator and good bishop, 1486-1527.

William Chisholm, half-brother of the preceding, who resigned in his favour; a shameless wretch, who wasted the see by fraudulent tacks to his three bastards and his nephew, and who burned men for heresy, 1527-1564.

William Chisholm, nephew of the robber bishop, appointed by Papal brief of 2nd June, 1561, and nominated by Queen Mary in 1564; was in exile Bishop of Vaison in France, became a Carthusian of Grenoble, and died at Rome, 1564-1593.

The diocese of Dunblane contained forty-three parishes.

VIII. Diocese of Ross.

What afterwards became the bishopric of Ross had its origin in a Columban monastery planted at Rosmarkyn or Rosemarkie by Lugadius or Moluog, abbot and bishop of Lismore, who died in 577, and whose day in the old calendar is June 25. Following him a century and a half later came Albanus Kiritinus, or Curitan, surnamed Bonifacius, who, in the interests of Rome, restored the church or rebuilt it of *stone*, and superseded the older native dedication by St. Peter in 716. When the see was re-founded by David I., c. 1228, Rosmarkyn continued, with the church of St. Peter as cathedral. But apparently under Bishop Thomas de Dundee (c. 1309), the site was removed to Fortrose or Chanonry, and a new cathedral begun dedicated to St. Peter and St. Boniface. Chanonry (so named from the number and prominence of canons' houses) is half a mile westward from Rosmarkyn, with which it was united in 1455 by James II. as a free burgh in favour of the Bishop of Ross. There is here a ferry of one mile across to Fort-George, on the Nairn and Elgin side of the firth, so that the site was a convenient one in several respects. In fact the architectural pre-eminence of the two cathedrals of Ross and Elgin, and their nearness by the Fortrose ferry, gave rise to a curious legend, put in wizard Michael Scott's name, that the fairies in one night erected the two cathedrals, but misplaced them, and were making a mound over the firth by which to convey each to its proper site when an untimely and too devout Highlander wishing them "God-speed" as he passed, scared the fairies from further effort, so that the cathedrals are on the wrong side, and a gap of a mile exists in the mound to this day!

The sole remains of the cathedral church of St. Peter and St. Boniface are the south aisle of the chancel and nave, a

detached chapter-house, a bell, dated 1460, and another, the "angelus bell," removed to Inverness. The cathedral, begun by Bishop Thomas (c. 1309), and completed by Bishop John Fraser, who died in 1507, was originally 120 feet in length; comprised a nave of four bays, with aisles 14 feet wide and round-headed windows; had a choir, with aisles, lady chapel, west tower, quasi transept, rood turret, and to the north-east a vaulted chapter-house over a crypt. Within the cathedral precincts stood the various manses of the dignitaries and prebendaries.

The chapter consisted of—dean, precentor, chancellor (Kinnettes), treasurer (Urquhart), archdeacon (Kilearnan), sub-dean (Edderton), sub-chanter (Urray), with *Prebendaries* of Suddy, Avoche, Kincardine, Nigg, Kilmuir Easter, Logie Easter, Roskeen, Alness, Kiltearn, Lumlair, Contin, Morinche, Kirkmichael, and Killicudden.

The last bishop, John Leslie, 1564–1596 (born 1527 of the Leslies of Balquahain, but illegitimate), was one of the great and good men of the old Church, who suffered in the company of the bad, at the Reformation.[1]

The choir and aisles of Leslie's cathedral were cruelly and foolishly ordered to be stripped of their lead by James VI. in 1572, in punishment of the bishop's supposed treason. This prepared for the more savage work of Cromwell, who, with the cathedral and palace and canonry stones, built a fort at Inverness.

Churches in the diocese of Ross are often described as being in Ferindonald or in the maragium (= mayordom or lordship) of Ferindonald, or of Ferindonald and Ardmanoch, the one being the ecclesiastical and the other the civil style. Much of the land spoken of in the old charters of Ross is reckoned by *davachs* or ploughgates, words that very often recur in "Origines Parochiales" (vol. ii. part ii.), where all the parishes of the diocese are taken up and contents of the old writs exhibited.

BISHOPS OF ROSS.

Macbeth, witness to charter of David I., c. 1128.
Simon, witness to charter of David I. to Dunfermline, c. 1150.
Gregory, consecrated by Arnold of St. Andrews; sat in Lateran Council 1189, 1161-1195.

[1] A portrait and good account of him, especially in his wonderful fidelity to Queen Mary, are given in W. Forbes Leith's "Narrative of Scottish Catholics," 84–140.

Reginald or Reinald, called macer, monk of Melrose; consecrated by John, bishop of Dunkeld, 1195-1213.

Robert, chaplain to William I., 1214-1230.

St. Duthac, patron saint of Tain, +1253. [His place here, however, is inconsistent with early authorities, who give his death 8th March, 1068.]

Robert, archdeacon, +1269.

Matthew or Machabeus, consecrated at Viterbo by Gregory X.; died at Council of Lyons, 1272-1274.

Thomas de Fyvie, 1274.

Robert, in 1290 addressed Edward I., and swore fealty, 1284.

Thomas de Dundee, recognized Bruce's title to the crown, built Rosmarkyn, 1309.

Roger, 1328.

John, 1334.

Roger, mentioned 1338 and 1350, 1338.

Alexander, 1357-1370.

Alexander Kilbinnes, signed charters 1404 and 1416.

John Turnbull, 1420-1439.

Thomas Urquhart, Tullich, 1441.

Henry Cockburne, 1463-1476.

Thomas Hay, founded collegiate church of Tain, 1481, 1481-1487.

William Elphinstone, translated to Aberdeen, 1482-1484.

John Fraser, natural son of a Tweeddale family, abbot of Melrose, privy councillor in 1506; finished the cathedral, +1507; effigy in cathedral, 1485-1507.

Robert Cockburne, translated to Dunkeld, 1508-1521.

James Hay, postulate of Dundrennan in 1516, 1525-1538.

Robert Cairncross of Balmashanner, near Forfar, provost of Corstorphine, chaplain to James V., abbot of Holyrood, commendator of Fearn; buried in the cathedral, 1539-1545.

David Paniter or Panter, vicar of Carstairs, prior of St. Mary's Isle, commendator of Cambuskenneth; was seven years abroad on public business; nominated in 1544; consecrated in 1552 at Jedburgh. His Latin letters of state published by Ruddiman in 1722, 1544-1558.

Henry Sinclair, of Roslin family, friend of James V., rector of Glasgow (1539), abbot of Kilwinning (1541), dean of Glasgow (1550), president of Court of Session (1544); died in France, 1560-1564.

John Leslie, son of Canon Leslie of Elgin, rector of Oyne, senator of College of Justice, abbot of Lindores (1564), bishop of Coutances (1593); died and buried in monastery of Gertrudenberg, near Brussels; ambassador and stanch friend of Queen Mary; a churchman of the highest order for learning, ability, purity, and fidelity to his afflicted queen. His chief work, "De Origine, &c., Scotorum," was published at Rome in 1578, 1565-1596.

The diocese of Ross contained thirty-seven parishes.

IX. Diocese of Caithness.

The first church in Dornoch was dedicated to St. Bar or Fymbar, who was the patron saint of Cork, and whose day in

the old calendar is September 25. Some say he lived in the sixth century, but others say in the eleventh. Possibly St. Bar himself preached for a time in Dornoch, but more likely the dedication arose from the presence and reverence of one of his followers a generation later than the saint himself. At all events the name survived into cathedral times, when a different form of church rule arose, and a fresh dedication of the same site was made to St. Gilbert and St. Mary.

"The festival of St. Bar continued to be held as a term day and fair during both the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries, and the cemetery of St. Fimber of Dornoch occurs in several bounding charters of the same period. The Church of St. Bar existed—whether in ruins or otherwise does not appear—till, according to Sir Robert Gordon, writing in 1630, 'it was of late demolished in the days of King James the Sixth.'

"The bishopric of Caithness appears to have been from its erection co-extensive with the older earldom, extending, as recorded in charters of 1476, 1527, and 1567, from Portnacultir to the Pentland Firth, and from the eastern sea to the western, and thus including the modern counties of Caithness and Sutherland. The era of its erection is unknown. The first bishop whose name appears in authentic records is Andrew, whose rule extended from the year 1146 at latest to the year 1185. Before 1153 King David I. granted to that bishop Hoctor Comon (probably the same as Huctherhinche, subsequently assigned by Bishop Gilbert to the chantry), free from all service except that of the common host."[1] Bishop John, who succeeded Andrew, refused to collect the papal tax of one penny on each inhabited house, granted before 1181 by Earl Harold, and got into trouble thereby. Pope Innocent III. prescribed an elaborate penance in 1202 to Lomberd, who had obeyed Earl Harold when ordered to cut out the bishop's tongue and eyes. The next bishop got into even worse trouble. "By an old custom a *spann* of butter for every twenty cows was paid to the bishop by the husbandmen. Bishop Adam reduced the number first to fifteen, then to twelve, and finally to ten, exacting in every case the spann of butter. In 1222 the Katanes men complained to Earl John, who in vain attempted to induce the bishop to

[1] "Origines Parochiales," ii. 597, 598.

be more moderate. While the bishop was at his manor of Hakirk in Thorsdal (probably at that time the episcopal see), in company with Serlo, dean of Neubotle, his confidential adviser, and Rafu the *logmadr* (one of the prefects appointed by King William), the discontented husbandmen assembled in the vicinity, threatening to use violence, from which Earl John, who was present, seems to have dissuaded them. Rafu's intercession with the bishop had no effect—the husbandmen advanced to attack the house—Serlo came out to meet them, and was immediately seized and put to death—and the bishop at last coming out and offering terms, the better part of the populace would have willingly made an arrangement, but the more violent seized him, dragged him to a hut (or, as some say, his own kitchen), and setting fire to it, burned him to death."[1] The Church afterwards tried to make amends to Bishop Adam by canonizing him, in addition to the terrible penalty of cutting off the hands of eighty-four of the murderers.

The next bishop, Gilbert, soon after his appointment, on the narrative that in the times of his predecessors there was but a single priest ministering in the cathedral church, both on account of the poverty of the place and by reason of frequent hostilities, and that he desired to extend the worship of God, resolved to build a cathedral church at his own expense, to dedicate it to the Virgin Mary, and to make it conventual. He appears to have completed the building. The glass used for the windows is said to have been made at Sytheraw (Cider-hall), west from Dornoch. In 1242 he made his will, which was extant in 1630. He died in 1245, was afterwards canonized, and became the patron saint of the church which he built. His relics continued to be had in reverence till the eve of the Reformation. Gilbert de Moravia was one of the greatest men of the old Church, liberal in gifts, skilful and painstaking in architecture, a born ruler of men, a leader in civilization and agriculture over the north, and of a pure Christian spirit.

The church consisted of a nave with aisles, choir, and transept, with a massive square central tower surmounted by a low spiked spire. The pillars of the choir are round, and the

[1] "Origines Par." ii. 598.

triforium had square-headed lights, the east window being filled with reticulated tracery. The cathedral was burnt in 1570 during a feud between the Murrays and the earls of Caithness. The manses remained till 1769. A square tower of the palace still survives.

The chapter, modelled on Elgin and Lincoln, had ten members, of whom the bishop was chief, and had the fruits of six parish churches, not named. The *dean* had the church of Clun (Clyne), the great tithes of the city of Dornoch and of the town of Ethenboll (Embo), with one-fourth of the altarage of Dornoch and the whole land of Nethandurnach. The *precentor* had the church of Creich, the parsonage tithes of Pronci, Auelech (Evelix), Strathormeli (Achormlary), Askedale (Ausedale), and Rutheverthar (Rhiarchar), one-fourth of the altarage of Dornoch, with the whole land of Huctherhinche at Dornoch. The *chancellor* had the church of Rothegorth (Rogart), the parsonage tithes of the twelve dauachs of Scelleboll (Skelbo) and one-fourth of the altarage of Dornoch. The *treasurer* had the church of Larg, the rectorial tithes of Scitheboll (Skibo) and Sywardhoch (Sydera), except those of Strathormeli, and the remaining one-fourth of the altarage of Dornoch. The *archdeacon* had the churches of Bauer and Watne (Bower and Watten).

Of the canons, the first had Olrich; the second, Donot (Dunnet); the third, Cananesbi (Canisbay); and the fourth, Kelduninach (Kildonan), of an exceptional kind, was held by the Abbot of Scone.

The churches of Far and Scynend (Skinnet), the lands of Pethgrudie (Pitgudie in Dornoch), two Herkhenyis, and the common pasturage of Dornoch, were common to the prebendaries, and assigned in an artificial manner so as to secure cathedral residence. Each canon had a toft and croft in the city of Dornoch. The dean had half a year's residence compulsory, and the canons three months' yearly. The bishop and dignitaries were bound to provide priests as their cathedral vicars or stallars, of whom the bishop's vicar alone had a provision from the cathedral—viz. the rectorial tithes of Thoreboll (Torboll) and of Kynald, and twenty acres of land at Dornoch, with a toft and croft there. The canons were allowed to find vicars

in deacons' orders. The Church of Dyrnes (Durness) was bestowed upon the cathedral, to find light and incense.[1]

BISHOPS OF CAITHNESS.

Andrew, monk of Dunfermline, sat in Council of Northampton; died at Dunfermline, 1146-1185.

John, had his tongue and eyes cut out by Earl Harold in 1201, 1185-1213.

Adam of Carlisle, abbot of Melrose, consecrated by William Malvoisin of St. Andrews; burned to death at Halkirk, in dispute about butter-tax; Earl Harold, who led to both murders, was hanged in 1231.

Gilbert de Moray, son of the Lord of Duffus, monk of Melrose, archdeacon of Moray, 1203; abbot of Glenluce; consecrated at York; founder of Dornoch Cathedral. He is in the kalendar as St. Gilbert, 1222-1245.

William, in 1250, in letter of Alexander III., defends the liberties of the Scottish Church, + 1261.

Walter de Baltroddi, LL.D., 1271.

Archibald Heroc or Hayrok, archdeacon of Moray, peaceably settled old dispute as to church lands with earls of Sutherland, 1275-1288.

Alan of St. Edmund's, lord chancellor, tool of Edward I., 1290-1291.

Andrew, 1293-1300.

Ferquhard de Ballegaumbe or Bellejambe, a defender of Scots liberty, recognizing Bruce's title to the crown, 1301-1328.

Alan, archdeacon of Aberdeen, 1341.

David, + 1348.

Thomas Murray de Fingask, 1348-1360.

Alexander Man, + 1389.

Malcolm, 1410-1421.

Robert Strathbrock, of a family in Foveran, 1444.

John Innes, dean, 1447.

William Moodie or Mudy, 1445-1460.

[Vacancy of twenty-four years, when the see was governed by Adam Gordon, dean and parson of Pettie.]

Andrew Stewart, natural son of family of Invermeath (probably Invermay, Perthshire), lord treasurer, 1490-1518.

Andrew Stewart, son of John, earl of Atholl, former postulate of Dunkeld against Bishop Gawin Douglas; instigated Clan Gunn to slay Laird of Duffus, when in retaliation the laird's brother, dean of Caithness, seized the vicar of Far, and imprisoned him at Duffus, 1518-1542.

Robert Stewart, born 1516 (brother to Matthew, earl Lennox), elect and administrator in 1542; provost of Dunbarton College; never in priest's orders; in exile twenty-two years; prior of St. Andrews; Earl of March, 1579; died at St. Andrews, 1586. After the Reformation he became Protestant, and gifted away much of the rents of the see of Caithness and priory of St. Andrews.

The diocese of Caithness contained twenty-five parishes.

[1] See Cosmo Innes, "Sketches," 81, 82.

X. *Diocese of Galloway.*

This see has three names. *Galloway* marks it best geographically; *Candida Casa* associates it with St. Ninian, who founded it in 397 and dedicated it to St. Martin; *Whitherne* associates it with the cathedral dedicated to St. Martin when the see was refounded by Fergus, lord of Galloway, in 1143. Here arises a question as to the real site of Candida Casa, or the White-house; whether it was identical with that of the later cathedral, which is at the town of Whithorn, two miles inland, or whether it was distant two miles from the town and on the little isle of Whithorn. Certainly the coast site of the isle has a very ancient church, and would also be more conspicuous, as Candida Casa implies. The real difficulty is that the tomb and shrine of St. Ninian in later times were in the cathedral, and there is no record of any translation from the isle. The question is discussed in Bishop Forbes' "St. Ninian."[1] A century or less after the time of St. Ninian, his church, under the name of "the great monastery of Rosnat," became famous as a seminary of religious and secular instruction, the name Whitherne appearing under the phonetic form of Futerna in Irish literature. St. Modwenna or Monenna or Medana, the friend of St. Brigida, had founded a church called Chil-ne-case, in Galloway, and opened up Irish intercourse. Rosnat is the scene of the very ancient hymn of St. Mugint, which with the scholiast's note on it is given by Bishop Forbes.[2] To Cairnech, one of the bishops and abbots of Futerna, is ascribed the introduction of monachism into Ireland itself.

From the year 727 to 796 the see of Galloway belonged to the kingdom of Northumbria, when its first bishop was Pechthelm, and its last Beadulf. The see was subject to York till 1472, when St. Andrews was made metropolitan, under which it continued only till 1491, when it became suffragan to Glasgow. The chapter of the see were canons regular or Præmonstratensian canons of the priory of Whitherne. They held prebends of Borgue, Crossmichael, Twyname, Kirkcudbright, Laswede or Leswalt, Stonykirk, Whitherne, Wigtown, and Dalry. They held also the churches of Glasterton, Kirkmaiden, Sorbie,

[1] "Scottish Historians," v. 269, 270. [2] Ibid. 292, 293.

Craigilton, Mothernin, Helpstone, Kirkdale, Toskerton, Clashaint, and Kirkanders. The diocese was divided into three rural deaneries—viz. *Desnes* = the east part of Kirkcudbright; *Farines* = east part of Wigtownshire; *Rinnes* = the country west of Main Water. The river Urr divided the sees of Galloway and Glasgow, as it still divides the synods of Dumfries and Galloway. An interesting view of the ancient arrangement of the chapter, showing names, offices, and number of the members, appears in a document given by Bishop Forbes.[1] It gives the voters in 1235 in favour of Odo, who was rival to Bishop Gilbert. Each name occupies a line in the form, *Ego frater Dunecanus, cathedralis prior Candidæ Casæ.* Shortened they are as follows—*Dunecanus,* cathedralis prior; *Bricius,* canonicus et sacerdos; *Paulinus,* quondam prior; *Helias,* canonicus, sacerdos, et sub-prior; *Cristinus,* canonicus, sacerdos, et thesaurarius; *Johannes,* canonicus, sacerdos, et provisor; *Gerardus,* canonicus, sacerdos, et cantor; *Mauricius,* can. et sac.; *Henricus,* can. et sac.; *Fingallus,* can. et sac.; *Malichias,* can. et sac.; *Johannes,* can. et sac.; *Gilbertus,* can. et diaconus; *Concius,* can. et diaconus; *Andreas,* can. et acolytus; *Melcalmus,* can. et sac.; *Gregorius,* can. et sac.; *Neemias,* can. et sac.; *Fergus,* can. et sac.; *Garcianus,* can. et sac.; *Nicholaus,* can. et diaconus; *Malach',* can. et acolytus.

The shrine of St. Ninian was a famous place of pilgrimage, visited by two queens and two kings of Scotland—viz. Margaret in 1473, Mary in 1503, James IV. three times, and James V. Offerings were made on these occasions, and like the modern multiplication of collections in certain churches, there were no fewer than six separate places of offering in old Whitherne, as detailed in the lord treasurer's accounts.[2] The names of the six places are: "at the Rude altair, at the ferter [*i.e.* feretrum = shrine or tomb] in the utir [outer] kirk, at the reliques, at the hye altair, at the lady chapel, and in the chapel on the hill" [*i.e.* chapel Outon, one mile north of Whitherne].

The conclusion of Bishop Forbes' Preface to his "Life of St. Ninian" is worthy of quotation as a historical review. "No one can stand within the precincts of the ruined priory of Whitherne, or look out to sea from the roofless chapel at the

[1] "Scottish Historians," Preface, li. [2] Quoted by Bishop Forbes, 294–304.

isle, without emotions which are difficult to describe. He stands on a spot where the ancient civilization of Rome, and the more ancient barbarism of the Meatæ, alike gave place to the higher training of the gospel of Christ—where the domination of the earth, transferred to the true faith, but still proceeding from the Eternal City, laid hold upon the strongest of all those Celtic races which constitute the population of Scotland—where Irish learning established the great monastery, and Irish piety received illustrations in Brignat and Modwenna, Mancennus, Eugenius, Tighernachus, and Endeus—where a Saxon church, remarkable for the sanctity of its bishops, repaired the breaches caused by conquest and foreign oppression —where, amid the ravages of the Norsemen and the feuds of the local princes, a rest was found for the ashes of St. Cuthbert —where, in the great restoration of the twelfth century, the civilizing influence of the see of York and the spiritual grace of the Order of Premontré brought some alleviation to the barbarism of the times—where an Italian legate, mediating between the conflicting claims of Scotland and England, brought his Italian astuteness and his Italian tact to bear upon the question—where Ailred acquired the knowledge which gives local colouring to his narrative — where the bishop of the diocese, so poor that he needed to act as suffragan and coadjutor to the Archbishop of York, yet appeared in his true place as intercessor for the rebel Thomas to his offended king—where David, wounded in battle, found a cure for his festering sore— where year by year the concourse of devout pilgrims to St. Ninian's shrine was so great as to call for royal interference, and in the presence of his sanctity the old feuds of Scots and English were for the time to be forgotten—where the good Queen Margaret, the wife of James III., found food for a piety which has almost entitled her to a place in the Kalendar of the Saints—where the gallant and chivalrous James IV., in whom, in spite of the temptations of youth, the devotional element prevailed, drew in that spiritual life which, expressing itself in deep penitence for his complicity in his father's death, sent him with an iron girdle of penitence round his waist to the fatal field of Flodden.

"And all this historic interest centres round one single figure,

sketched in faint outline by the Venerable Bæda, filled in by the graceful hand of the amiable Ailred, commemorated in the dedications of many churches through the length and breadth of Scotland—Ninian, the apostle of the Britons and of the Southern Picts.

> 'In paradiso ecclesiæ,
> Virtutum ex dulcedine,
> Spiramen dat aromatum
> Ninianus cœlestium.'"

The following is an outline of the *dilapidation* of the see, as the sacrilegious robbery of the church was mildly called. In 1528 Bishop Henry Weems, with consent of the archdeacon, confirmed the alienation of some of the lands of Saulseat. In 1560 Malcolm the Commendator granted away the kirk lands of Mochrum. In 1564 the bishop and chapter infefted John Stuart in Canencutoch and Polwhelly, and in 1565 Vans in Barvennane, while Gilbert Agnew has a tack of Culmalzie, and Patrick Vans of Barnbarroch obtains Baltersone. Till 1587, when the priory was vested in the king, it presented a history of continued spoliation, while pilgrimages were made penal by the law of the land. In 1608 the priory was granted to the see of Galloway. In 1622 Bishop Andrew Lamb disponed the precinct and closeage of the priory to George Gledstanes. In 1641 it was granted to the University of Glasgow, and in 1661 restored.

BISHOPS OF GALLOWAY.

St. Ninian, +432.
Pechthelm, 730–735.
Acca, was expelled, 732–741.
Frethewald, +764.
Pictuine, +776.
Ethelbert, consecrated at York, translated to Hexham, 777-789.
Radulph or Badulf, 790.
Christianus, consecrated at Bermondsey by Archbishop of Rouen, suspended 1176 by Cardinal Tomasi for absence from Council of Edinburgh and pleading that he was suffragan of York, 1154-1186.
John, monk of Holyrood in 1206, 1189-1209.
Walter, chaplain to Roland, high constable of Scotland; gave church of Sembrie to Dryburgh, 1209-1235.
Gilbert, master of novices of Melrose, abbot of Kinloss, consecrated at York; gave Sorbie to Dryburgh, 1235-1253.
Henry, abbot of Holyrood, consecrated at Eastby Abbey, Richmond, by Walter of York and Walter of Durham, 1255-1293.

Thomas de Dalston, consecrated by Bishops of York, Carlisle, and St. Asaph; swears fealty to Edward I. in 1296, and in 1309 recognizes Bruce, 1296-1311.

Simon, 1321.

Henry, 1334-1335.

Michael, treats for redemption of David II.; last of the bishops subject to York, 1357-1358.

Adam de Lanark, 1359-1366.

[Papal schism (1378-1417) gave sometimes duplicate and rival bishops from Rome and Avignon.]

Thomas, consecrated at Avignon, 1368.

Elisæus, 1405-1413.

Thomas, 1415-1420.

Alexander Vans, of the Barnbarroch family, envoy to England in 1428; resigned, to be monk at Holyrood, 1420-1451.

Thomas Spens, envoy in 1449, privy seal in 1458; translated to Aberdeen; founded hospital in Edinburgh, where he died 1480, and was buried in Trinity College, 1451-1459.

Ninian Spot, canon of Dunkeld and Moray, comptroller of Scotland, 1458-1479.

George Vans, cousin to Bishop Alexander Vans; from 1504 the Bishop of Galloway was styled *Candidæ Casæ et Capellæ regiæ Strivilensis Episcopus*, the deanery of the chapel royal being annexed to help the small living, 1489-1503.

David Arnot, archdeacon of Lothian in 1501, provost of Bothwell, abbot of Cambuskenneth in 1503, commendator of Tungland in 1516 (the last added, like the deanery, to increase the living of see) + 1526, 1509-1522.

Henry Weems, natural son of James IV., was official of Galloway in 1516, 1522-1540.

Andrew Durie, abbot of Melrose, 1541-1558.

Alexander Gordon, bishop of the Isles, passed through great variety of fortune as judge of Court of Session, suspended minister, rejected "visitor," titular bishop of Athens, and on his deathbed resigning his see with consent of the queen to his son John, a student in France, 1558-1576.

The diocese of Galloway contained the following deaneries:— Desnes or Disnes, with thirty-five parishes; Rinnes, eight; and Farines, thirteen.

XI. Diocese of Lismore or Argyll.

The see was erected in the year 1200 by the Pope at the request of Bishop and Saint John of Dunkeld, in favour of Evaldus as first bishop, the territory being taken from the dioceses of Dunkeld and of the Isles. It comprised Argyll, Cowal, Lorn, Kintyre, Lochaber, and some of the Western Isles, as shown in the list of parishes. The see seems to have been

first at Muckairn, the name Kilespeckerrill there being explained by Skene[1] as meaning *church of Bishop Erailt*, Eraldus, or Harold, the first bishop. This continued till 1236. Killespickerrill was on the left bank of the Neaunt, and may have got its distinctive name from Bishop Erailt the more readily to contrast it with an older church in the west of the same parish—viz. Kilmaronag (*i.e.* St. Ronan's), the ruins of which are still traceable. In 1236 the see was transferred to Lismore, where a Columban monastery had been founded by St. Lughadh, Lugadius or Moluoc, who died 25th June, 577. The original church of St. Moluag stood at Portmaluag, on the sea coast. The island of Lismore (= great garden) contained the cathedral of St. Moluac, and the bishop's residence, Achenduin Castle, the parish priest of Kilmaluag in Lismore being dean. One of its deans, Sir James M'Gregor, between 1512–1540 compiled a common-place book of Gaelic heroic ballads and some religious poems, which has been edited, translated, and annotated by Dr. M'Lauchlan and Dr. Skene (1862), under the title "The Book of the Dean of Lismore"—a book of singular value for the Gaelic language, a few of the pieces being real Ossians.

The only remains of the cathedral, once 137 by 29½ feet, are an aisleless decorated choir, 56 feet by 28, with piscina and sedilia, and also traces of a chapter-house and sacristy. As re-roofed in 1749 this choir now serves as a parish church. The architecture of the choir seems to date from c. 1350. A freehold of originally twelve (but now six) acres has been held for centuries by a family of Livingstones, "barons of Bachuill," *i.e.* custodiers of the bishop's crosier or *bachuill more*, 2 feet 10 inches long, once covered with copper.

The chapter consisted of dean (Kilmaluag in Lismore), præcentor (Kilcalmonell), chancellor (Kilmichael), treasurer (Dunoon), archdeacon (Lochgoilhead). *Prebendaries* — Kilmodan, Inverkelan, Kilmacharmaig in Knapdale, Lochhead in Kintyre. This diocese is one of those where the accurate and copious information given in the "Origines Parochiales" of Cosmo Innes is available parish by parish. In 1662 a new chapter was provided for the diocese by express statute.[2]

Father Hay, in his "Scotia Sacra,"[3] gives the following curious

[1] "Celtic Scot.," ii. 408. [2] See Grub. iii. 201. [3] As quoted in the "Origines Par.," II. i. 162.

description of the dress of the canons of Lismore:—"Their usual habit reached to the ankles. At divine service in the church they wore a rochet with an amice (*almutium*) placed upon the shoulders, and a surplice with open sleeves, from Easter Eve to the feast of All Saints (1st November), and from Hallow Eve (31st October) to Holy Saturday they wore a linen surplice reaching to the ankles, and by peculiar privilege and custom violet-coloured capes, as appears from the 'Iconice Canonicorum Imagines,' printed in 1400, which was to be seen in the choir. They afterwards wore black capes open in front, and under the cape, which was lined with red cloth of silk or silk and wool (*holoscrico* seu *heteromallo*), a linen tunic (*cotta* seu *phelone*) without sleeves. On the head they wore an amice made of gray fur (*ex griseis pelliculis*), and above it a hood (*capuceum* seu *mosettam*), which covered the shoulders, with a collar of ermine attached. To the cape was attached behind a train (*cauda repens*) of the same material and colour, which they carried on the left arm. This change was introduced *pro tempore* by Pope Nicholas.[1] By a decree of the Council of Narbonne (1043), purple vestments were strictly forbidden to clerical persons, lest they should make a boast of worldly pomp. Yet the dignitaries (*senatores*) of this cathedral church were distinguished by the purple, that the memory of the blood shed by them for the gospel of Christ might not perish."

BISHOPS OF ARGYLL.

Evald, Erald, or Harald, chaplain to Bishop John of Dunkeld.

[Harold, chaplain to Bishop Clement of Dunkeld, has grant of three davacks of Kilkesog in 1228 from Alexander II. Query, is not this bishop the same as the first? 1228.]

William, drowned in a storm; grant of Sir Ewen of Argyll to Bishop William in 1251, 1240-1251.

Alan, ratified Kilfinan to Paisley, 1250-1261.

Laurence, often mentioned in Paisley charters, 1261-1299.

Andrew, homage to Bruce, witnesses donations to Greyfriars of Glasgow, 1304-1327.

David, 1330-1350.

Martin, recommended in 1342 for the see by Edward of England, suspended 30th May, 1362, 1351-1362.

Finlay (after long vacancy of see), Dominican friar, chaplain to Murdoch, duke of Albany, in 1425 fled to Ireland with Murdoch's son James; died there 1425, 1420-1425.

[1] "Raynald. Annal. Eccles.," an. 1278, no. 79.

George Lauder of Balcomie, Fife, vicar of Crail, 1425; preceptor of St. Leonard's hospital, Peebles. 1427-1470.

Robert Colquhoun, son of Laird of Luss, rector of Luss and Kippen, 1473-1495.

John, c. 1499.

David Hamilton, natural son of James Lord Hamilton, commendator of Dryburgh and Glenluce, abbot of Sandal; the last added to improve the small living of the see, 1505-1523.

Robert Montgomery, son of first Hugh, earl of Eglinton, rector of Kirkmichael, had a natural son Robert legitimated 1553, 1525-1539.

William Cunningham, brother to Earl of Glencairn, 1539-1552.

James Hamilton, natural brother to Duke of Chatelherault, rector of Pettie in Moray, rector of Spot in Lothian, subdean of Glasgow, commendator of Abbey of Sandal, which was appended to see of Argyll. He became Protestant at the Reformation, 1558-1575.

The diocese of Lismore or Argyll contained the following deaneries:—Kintyre, with twelve parishes; Glassary or Glasrod, thirteen; Lorn, fourteen; and Morvern, eight.

XII. Diocese of The Isles.

The history of this see is remarkable in many ways, as compared with the rest of the thirteen. While its origin goes further back than all, save Galloway and Glasgow, yet the attainment of its chief church to full and proper cathedral status was the latest of all the thirteen, being reached only in 1506. The following historical outline, chiefly founded on "Notes on the History of the Ruins of Iona," by Dr. Skene,[1] will show this:—Iona contains *four* distinct ecclesiastical foundations—viz. (1) Teampull Odhran or Chapel of St. Oran, with its graveyard, called Reilig Oran, the size of St. Oran's being 40 by 20; (2) the Church of St. Mary, at first an abbey church with cloisters and monastic buildings, but afterwards a cathedral; (3) a nunnery; (4) Teampul Ronaig, St. Ronan's or Rowan's, which was the parish church of the island at Port Ronan. The oldest of these is St. Oran's, who died October 2, 548, *i.e.* fifteen years before Columba landed at Iona.

In a later paper (*Proceedings Scott. Soc. of Antiq.*, 1875–76), Dr. Skene points out that the little chapel north of the abbey church, and at a short distance from it, had an entirely different orientation, pointing more to the north, and that alongside it some foundations were exposed with a similar orientation. To

[1] Reprinted in vol. vi. pp. 342–353 of "The Historians of Scotland."

the west of the ruins a small building, known as St. Columba's house, was similar in orientation, and therefore all these are probably remains of the establishment that preceded the Benedictine monastery.

The grand portion of Iona's history is what lies between the years 563 and 806, the former being the date of St. Columba's arrival, and the latter the date when the monks, to the number of sixty-eight, were martyred by the Northmen in Martyrs' Bay, and religious rites were for the time extinguished in the sacred island. After the great massacre in 806, which had been preceded by burning and plunder and slaughter in 795, 798, and 802, a safer substitute for Iona was sought at Kells in Ireland, and another at Dunkeld, which have each their separate history. But men still clung to Iona, for in 818 some of the relics were brought back and buildings of stone were raised. In 825 the abbot and several of the monks were slain for refusing to point out the hiding-place of the relics and shrine. In 878 the shrine and relics were again carried to Ireland for safety, but were brought back some years later. On Christmas Eve of 986 took place the last Danish attack, when the abbot and fifteen monks were murdered; after which the buildings were more or less ruinous till about 1074, when Queen Margaret "rebuilt *Huense Cœnobium*, furnished it with monks and with an endowment for performing the Lord's work."

Shortly afterwards Iona became subject to Magnus Barefoot of Norway; and in 1099 died Abbot Duncan, the last of the old order of abbots. After 1154 came a fresh gleam of prosperity for Iona under the protection of Somarled, regulus of Argyll, when the abbot of Derry was the successor of Columba and Adamnan, and when the sacred isle had on it a *sagart-mor* (=great priest), a *ferleighin* (=lector), a *disertach* (=head of hermitage), and a head or prior of the Culdees. This was the state of matters when the abbey church of St. Mary (whose ruins are now the most prominent of all remains on the island) was founded by Reginald, Lord of the Isles, 1166–1203. The Book of Clanranald, kept by the Macvurichs, says that this Reginald founded three monasteries of black monks or Benedictines—viz. St.

Mary's in Iona, another of black nuns, also in Iona, and a monastery of grey friars at Sagadel in Kintyre. The Benedictines of Iona were Tyronenses, and not Cluniacs. Reginald's foundations were confirmed by the Pope on December 9, 1203. A confirmation of a different kind still survives on a column on the south-east under the tower of St. Mary's, which bears the inscription—"Donaldus O' Brolchan fecit hoc opus." This Donaldus was prior of Derry and probably also of Iona, and died 27th April, 1203, being a relative of the Bishop and Abbot of Derry, Flaherty O' Brolchan. The church thus begun measured 160 feet by 24, was 70 feet across the transept, and had a central tower 70 feet high, which still survives. The high altar was of marble, 6 feet by 4, was pretty complete in the middle of last century, and has been carried off in chips by the Cockney class of tourists, headed by Pennant in 1772.

For a long time the abbey of Iona, in regard to ecclesiastical jurisdiction, was the subject of conflicting claims by the archbishops of York, by the archbishops of Drontheim, by the abbey of Furness, and the clergy of Man. Pope Innocent IV. attempted a settlement in 1244, but the controversy was renewed on the death of Bishop Simon in 1247.[1] Drontheim in Norway was erected as metropolitan in 1154 by Anastasius IV., and expressly included the Sudreys or Western Isles. The Isles now called Western as regards Scotland were anciently called Sudereyer (the Suderies or Southern Isles as regards Orkney), when both belonged to the Danes or Norwegians. They were made a bishopric in 838, and united to Mona or Man in 1098. In 1458 Sodor and Man were separated and attached to the English Church. In 1431 the Abbot of Iona made obedience to the Bishop of Dunkeld. In 1498 The Isles were made suffragan to St. Andrews. Between the years 1492 and 1498, John, abbot of Iona, was elected bishop of The Isles, and in 1506 the abbey of Iona was permanently annexed to the bishopric of The Isles, the bishop being *ex officio* perpetual commendator of Icolmkill. It was only at this period that the abbey church of St. Mary's became the cathedral of The Isles.

[1] See Grub, i. 324 and 254.

In Iona are buried forty-eight Scottish, four Irish, and eight Norse kings. The roll of abbots of Iona extends to forty-nine names, given in detail in the Chronicle of Hy, sec. 9, in Introduction to Bishop Reeves' Adamnan's Columba. In the ninth and tenth centuries the names connect closely the two Celtic churches of Scotland and Ireland, and are for a time more Irish than Scots. To trace the parishes, and still more the chapels in this diocese, good maps are indispensable. By far the best for this purpose are those at the end of Vol. II. Part i. of "Origines Parochiales," where also are found summaries of the chief grants and titles to the several churches and estates.

The ancient writs of the see being lost at the Reformation, a new chapter was established in 1617:—*Dean*, parson of Sorbie in Tyree, who was also vicar of Iona; *sub-dean*, parson of Rothesay; other four parsons with these to form the convent and chapter.[1] In 1662 a statute was passed restoring an *archdeacon* in the chapter of The Isles (omitted in 1617) with certain benefices in Skye.

BISHOPS OF THE ISLES (*i.e.* OF MAN).

Wymund, consecrated the first bishop (*i.e.* under the Norwegians) by Thomas, archbishop of York (?), monk of Furness; an insolent free-booter and pirate; imprisoned in Roxburgh Castle and Byland Abbey "propter ejus importunitatem," *i.e.* to keep him quiet; had his eyes put out and was gelded, 1113-1151.

John, monk of Seez, consecrated by Henry Ebor., buried at St. German's in 1151.

Gamaliel, consecrated by Roger Ebor., buried at Peterborough.

Christian Archadiensis (= Ergadiensis), of Argyll, bishop of Whitherne, 1154-1186, buried at Bangor in Ireland.

Michael, a Manxman, died at Fountains Abbey, 1203.

Nicolas de Meaux, abbot of Furness, consecrated by Archbishop of York, 1203-1217; resigned at Bangor in Ireland; in 1227 signs a charter, c. 1210.

Reginald of Norway, nephew of King Olaf of Man, buried at Rushin Abbey in Man; a devout prelate, 1217-1225.

John MacIvar or Harfere, burnt by negligence of his servants, buried at Jervaulx, 1226.

Simon Archadiensis or Argyll, consecrated at Drontheim by Archbishop Peter Lawrence; held a synod in 1239, where he made thirteen canons, still extant; died at Kirkmichael in Man; buried at the new cathedral of St. German, which he had founded, 1226-1247.

Laurence, archdeacon of Man, consecrated at Drontheim, but drowned same year on his return, 1249.

[1] Grub, ii. 309.

Richard, an Englishman, canon of St. Andrews, consecrated at Rome by Archbishop Serlo of Drontheim, 1252.

Stephen, in 1253 confirms churches and lands held by Paisley Abbey within the see of Man.

Richard, dedicated St. Mary's, Rushen or Castletown; died at Langalyner in Copland: buried at Furness, 1257-1274.

Marcus or Mauricius of Galloway, promoted by Alexander III., consecrated at Tunsburg by Archbishop of Drontheim; long prisoner in England; frequently envoy; died blind; buried at St. German's, 1275-1303.

Allan of Galloway, consecrated by Jorund of Drontheim; recognized Bruce's title to crown 1309; died and buried at Rothesay, 1305-1321.

Gilbert MacLellan of Galloway, consecrated by Eidolf of Drontheim; buried at Rothesay, 1321-1327.

Bernard de Linton, rector of Mordington in 1296, abbot of Arbroath in 1311; buried at Arbroath or Kilwinning, 1328-1333.

Thomas, buried at Scone: English seize Isle of Man, 1334-1338.

William Russell, abbot of Rushin, a Manxman, consecrated at Avignon by Bertrand, bishop of Ostia; held a synod at St. Michael's in 1350, when five new canons were passed; buried at Furness, 1348-1374.

John Duncan, archdeacon of Down, a Manxman; consecrated at Avignon; returning, made prisoner at Bolonia; ransomed for 500 merks, 1374-1380.

John, commissioned by Richard II. in 1388 to treat with John of Isla and MacNeil of Barra.

Michael, witness to a grant in 1409.

Angus, younger son of Donald, lord of the Isles; witness to a charter in 1427 by Alexander of Isla; "buried with crosier and episcopal habit in the cross on south side of the great choir," c. 1427-1437.

Angus, sits in Parliament in 1476.

Robert, gets charter from John, lord of the Isles, of the mensal church of Kilberry in 1492.

John, privy councillor, got from James IV. and the Pope the abbacy of Iona to be joined to the see of the Isles in 1507, c. 1495-1509.

George Hepburn, uncle to first Earl of Bothwell, provost of Lincluden, abbot of Arbroath in 1503, lord treasurer in 1509, slain at Flodden in armour; styled Georgius Sodorensis episcopus et monasterii Ioniæ commendatorius perpetuus, 1510-1513.

John, sits in Parliament, 1524, called elect in 1525-26-28.

Ferquhard Maclaughlan, legitimated in 1544, resigned, 1530-1544.

Roderic Maclean, archdeacon, 1544-1549.

Alexander Gordon, second son of John, master of Huntly, and of Jane, natural daughter of James IV.; on losing see of Glasgow was made by the Pope archbishop of Athens; got in 1555 Abbey of Inchaffray *in commendam*, translated to Galloway, 1553-1558.

John Campbell, elect in 1558, of Calder in Nairn, dilapidated the benefice in favour of his relatives in Nairn.

John Carswell, chaplain to Earl of Argyll, rector of Kilmartin, dean of Chapel Royal, Protestant superintendent; presented to the see by Queen Mary, 24th March, 1566; +1572.

The diocese of The Isles contained forty-four parishes.

XIII. Diocese of Orkney.

The see was founded in 1102 at Kirkwall (=Kirkwaag or bay). The cathedral was begun in 1138 by Rognvald or Ronald, Norse jarl of Orkney (=the Whale Isle), and dedicated to his uncle St. Magnus. The bishops were suffragran of Drontheim from about 1150, and of St. Andrews from 1471. The see of Orkney was originally at Birsa, where Jarl Thorfinn (+ 1064) built Christ Church. Orkney was occupied by the Norsemen from 870 to 1468, the early Norse being heathen. The earldom was, from 1231-1321, 1321-1371, 1371-1468, successively in the Angus, Stratherne, and St. Clair line.

Previously the islands had been Christianized by Celtic missionaries, whose seats are marked in the places still called Papa (=father or priest). *Orkney* has—Papa Westray (= Papey meiri of the Saga); Papa Stronsay (= Papey Minni); Papley (= Papuli), on mainland in parish of Holm; Papley in South Ronaldshay; Papdale near Kirkwall; Damsey or Adamnan's Isle, with its chapel of St. Mary and a nunnery, in the bay of Firth at Finstown; Rinansey or Ninian's Isle in North Ronaldshay. *Shetland* has—Papil in North Yell; Papa Stour on west side of mainland; Papa Isle at Scalloway; Papil in Isle of Burra; and St. Ninian's Isle, near Fitful Head.

The most notable names under this diocese are—*St. Olave*, Olaf, Ola or (corrupt) Tola, king and martyr, July 29, 1030. He was second king of Norway of that name, and second Christian king. Olaf Helge (= holy) was slain by his rebellious and heathen subjects in battle at Stichstadt, near Drontheim, where he was buried. Churches are dedicated to him at Papil Yell, Kirkabister, Bressay, Kirkwall, Whiteness, Widewall, and at Gress in Lewis.

St. Magnus, king and martyr, April 16, 1104. Was heir of Jarl Erlend, and first cousin to Haco, with whom he was joint ruler of Orkney under King Magnus Barefoot of Norway. Haco appointed a meeting with Magnus at Egilsey, and there treacherously slew him. Magnus first tried to avert from Haco the sin of bloodshed, then failing, died bravely, saying to the trembling executioner, "Stand before me and hew me a mighty stroke upon the head. Be firm, poor man,

for I have prayed to God for you that He may have mercy upon you." He was buried in Christ Church, Birsay; then taken to St. Ola's, Kirkwall; then to the cathedral, and canonized in 1135. His churches are—Kirkwall Cathedral, Dunrossness, Egilsay, Hillswick, Tingwall, St. Magnus Bay, on the west side of Shetland.

St. Rognvald or Ronald, August 20, 1158, but not found in Roman martyrologies. This Kali, surnamed Ronald, was son of Gunnhilder, sister and heir of St. Magnus, who married a Norse Earl Kolr. Kolr and his son Ronald, in terms of a vow, founded the cathedral of Kirkwall, to get money to build which they agreed to make the Orcadians freeholders of their land for a single payment of one merk (= 1*s.*) per acre. Rognvald was murdered in Caithness by Earl Harold's tutor; canonized in 1192, when his body was removed from Ladykirk in South Ronaldshay to Kirkwall Cathedral. In company with Bishop William "the Old," Rognvald had been one of the Jorsalafarers (= Jerusalem-goers or crusaders).

Bishop William "the Old," though not canonized, was perhaps a greater man than either Magnus or Ronald. He held the see for sixty-six years (1102-1168), being the first Bishop of Orkney. In 1848 Bishop William's body was found in the cathedral with a piece of lead under his chin rudely inscribed, and now in the National Museum in Edinburgh: *H[ic] requiescit Williamus senex felicis memorie. Prmus Epis.* [= Primus Episcopus.]

Under Norwegian rule were fourteen bishops (1102–1477), ending with William VI. (1455–1477). Under Scottish rule were five, the last being Bishop Reid (1540–1558), who had previously been Abbot of Kinloss, Prior of Beauly, and Vicar-general of Aberdeen, and who was one of the commissioners for the marriage of Queen Mary with the Dauphin. When returning, he died suddenly at Dieppe, along with his fellow-commissioners Lords Rothes and Cassilis—all three of poison, as is supposed.

Bishop Reid has the merit of creating at Kirkwall in 1544 (confirmed in 1545) a regular cathedral foundation of seven dignitaries, seven prebendaries, thirteen chaplains, a sacristan, and six choristers. The dignitaries were:—(1) Provost or dean,

prebendary of Holy Trinity, and rector of South Ronaldsay and Burra; (2) archdeacon, chaplain of St. Ola, with tithes of Birsay and Harray; (3) precentor, prebendary of Orphir, with tithes of Stennes; (4) chancellor, prebendary of St. Mary in Sanday; (5) treasurer, rector of St. Nicholas in Stronsay; (6) sub-dean, rector of Hoy and Walls; (7) sub-chanter, prebendary of St. Colme. The prebends were:—(1) Holy Cross in Sanday, care of bells and floor of cathedral; (2) St. Mary in Evie, care of roof and windows; (3) St. Magnus; (4) St. John; (5) St. Laurence; (6) St. Catharine; (7) St. Duthus. The sacristan was rector of St. Columba's in Sanday, now Burness.

In 1725 Orkney was constituted a synod with three presbyteries. Previously it had been one presbytery in the synod of Caithness.[1]

BISHOPS OF ORKNEY.

William the Old, first bishop of Orkney, was friend of St. Magnus; travelled with St. Ronald to Palestine; superintended building of Kirkwall Cathedral from 1158 to 1168. Bishop sixty-six years, 1102-1168.

William II., + 1188.

Biarin, + 1223.

Jofreyrr, 1223-1247.

Henry, accompanied Haco invading Scotland, 1248-1269.

Peter, envoy from Eric of Norway for marriage of Margaret, daughter of Alexander II., 1270-1284.

Dolgfinnr, 1286-1309.

William III., last mentioned 1328, 1310-1328.

William IV., first mentioned 1369; cruelly murdered, 1369-1382.

William V., 1382-1390.

Henry II., attended coronation of Eric of Norway at Calmar in 1396, 1391-1396.

John, 1396-1422.

Thomas de Tulloch, son of Tulloch of Bonington in Forfarshire, governor of Orkney for King Eric; safe-conduct from Henry VI. of England in 1441 for a year; at coronation of Christian of Norway in 1442, 1422-1455.

William VI. (de Tulloch), cousin of Bishop Thomas, sent in 1468 by James III. to Denmark to negotiate marriage with Princess Margaret; Lord Privy Seal in 1473; envoy to England in 1471, 1455-1477.

Andrew, first bishop under Scots rule of St. Andrews; had Kirkwall

[1] It is very sad to see, as the writer did in August, 1886, the noble and well-preserved cathedral of St. Magnus, now visited every autumn by hundreds of tourists, while used as a parish church, yet fitted up in so tasteless a manner as to be a scandal to the Church of Scotland. What a magnificent church it might easily be were the hideous galleries, pulpit, and all modern fittings swept away, and the interior treated like the transept and nave of St. Giles', Edinburgh. "So mote it be," and soon.

made a royal burgh in 1486; got a safe-conduct from Henry VII. of England in 1494, 1478-1501.

Edward Stewart, consecrated chapel of King's College, Aberdeen; mentioned 1511 and 1513.

Thomas, endowed the cathedral choristers.

Robert Maxwell, son of Sir John Maxwell of Pollok, rector of Torbolton 1521, provost of Dunbarton College; built cathedral stalls; provided bells for steeple; in 1540 entertained James V. on his progress through the Isles, 1526-1540.

Robert Reid, son of John Reid of Akynhead, who fell at Flodden; educated at St. Salvator's, St. Andrews, and at Paris; sub-dean and official of Moray; commendator of Kinloss in 1526, of Beaulieu in 1530; president of Court of Session in 1550; commissioner for marriage of Queen Mary 1558; died on return to Dieppe; great patron of learning; first founder of college of Edinburgh by legacy of 8000 merks, 1541-1558.

Adam Bothwell, possessed temporalities of see of Orkney, 11th October, 1559; one of four bishops who embraced the Reformed doctrine, the other three being Carswell (Isles), Hamilton (Argyll), Stewart (Caithness); married Queen Mary to Earl Bothwell; judge of Session; abbot of Holyrood, where buried; crowned and anointed James VI. at Stirling, 1562-1593.

The diocese of Orkney contained the archdeaconries of Orkney, with thirty-five parishes; and of Tingwall (Shetland), with seventeen.

The total number of churches in the thirteen dioceses was 1042, with 546 chapels, thus distributed:—St. Andrews, 251, with 81 chapels, of which 123, with 41 chapels, were in the Archdeaconry of Lothian; Glasgow, 231, with 110 chapels; Dunkeld, 65 with 16; Aberdeen, 96 with 53; Moray, 73 with 30; Brechin, 28 with 11; Dunblane, 38 with 9; Ross, 38 with 30; Caithness, 25 with 67; Galloway, 57 with 20; Argyle, 47 with 47; Isles, 43 with 32; Orkney, 50 with 40. The greater number of these churches were of very small size, from twenty to thirty feet long by fifteen or sixteen feet wide. We may compare with this summary another that was made in the time of Mary of Guise, which gave 13 bishops, 50 provostries, 500 parsons, and 2000 vicars. It is impossible to state their exact number at any given date, because then, as now, some chapels grew into churches, some prebends consisted only of lands without church or chapel, and the connection of parishes with monasteries tended to reduce hundreds of parish churches to mere chapels. Moreover, through declen-

sion and removal of population, especially in the north and west of Scotland, many ecclesiastical structures have disappeared not only as places of worship, but even from local nomenclature, and are discoverable only from ancient writs, local tradition, especially old graveyards with memorial stones, ecclesiastical names of farms, bays, lochs, or valleys. A striking feature of these old lists is the absence or merely chapel position of many lively modern places, such as Greenock, Port-Glasgow, Gourock, Lerwick, Bridge of Allan, Coatbridge, Wishaw, Newton-on-Ayr, Ardrossan, Oban, Campbeltown. Another feature is the presence of but one or two names where modern extension gives ten or twenty town parishes in one group, as in Edinburgh, Glasgow, Aberdeen, Dundee, Paisley. Of the thirteen dioceses only four have their chartularies extant and also printed—viz., Glasgow, Aberdeen, Moray, and Brechin.[1]

COLLEGIATE CHURCHES OR PROVOSTRIES

(*Forty-three Foundations*).

Collegiate Churches, *Præpositurœ*, or Provostries formed an important and distinct development of Roman Catholicism in Scotland, being prominent churches emphasized or created intermediate, as it were, between the thirteen cathedral churches (which, as we have seen, were completed by the year 1200) and the higher class of parish churches, which had the position of rectories, as compared with vicarages or mere chapelries. Most collegiate churches, before being endowed as *præpositurœ*, possessed an earlier and smaller endowment as parish churches. Others, again, seem to have been mere chapels in their earlier stage, if even that, and to have been made *præpositurœ* all at once without ever having had a parochial character, even after their better endowment. Two instances of the latter sort exist in Strathearn—one at Innerpeffray, two miles below Crieff, and the other at Tullibardine, half a mile south of the railway station of that name, on the Crieff Junction Railway, the former representing the Drummond liberality, and the latter that of the Atholls, who occupied the old castle of Tullibardine. Innerpeffray always was in the parish of Monzie, and Tullibardine always was in the parish of Blackford or Strageith.

[1] Cosmo Innes, "Sketches," 20.

Collegiate churches were a creation mainly of the fifteenth century, the earliest specimen being that of Dunbar (in 1342), and the latest that of Biggar (in 1545). The motive in creating them seems to have been threefold: to recognize by a superior clergy the more populous or cultured parts of the country, especially near some nobleman's castle, that had no immediate benefit from a cathedral; to strengthen the secular or parochial clergy as against the regular or monastic clergy; and to promote grammar-school education, nearly every one having such a school attached. They were called collegiate from having a college or chapter like cathedrals. The clergy composing the chapter were not bound by rule, like monks; but under the name of canons and prebendaries, like cathedral clergy, lived in their own houses or manses. This endowed chapter of secular canons was presided over by a dean, called a provost (*præpositus*), the members of the chapter or prebendaries being beneficed clergy holding neighbouring cures. Such collegiate churches of the fifteenth century, with the well-ordered presidency of a provost, are to be carefully distinguished from the so-called "collegiate charges" subsequent to the Reformation in places like Hamilton, Brechin, Elgin, Montrose, Cupar, St. Andrews, Culross, Paisley, &c., where misuse of the principle of "parity" has given us a two-headed monster, and produced many a needless controversy and "case," in consequence of men being unequally yoked in the irksome propinquity of a common charge.

The endowment of this new class of churches was one of the latest and very best efforts of the old Church of Scotland, and was a proof of the internal feeling of the Church itself that some quickening and change of ecclesiastical life and polity were required. By this date the monastic life and wealth had been discovered to be somewhat idle, and in an earlier age to have been unduly extended, to the disadvantage of the diocesan and parochial system. But reverence for old endowments being still a living principle, no attempt was made to transfer even part of the wealth of abbeys, priories, or nunneries to the strengthening of the parochial clergy. Leaving ancient benefactions alone as sacred, even though less needed or less wholesomely administered than at first, these

earnest Christians of the fifteenth century honourably laboured to find from fresh gifts the means of endowing Provostries to meet the current needs of the age.

A list of thirty-eight collegiate churches is given by Mr. Laing as at the Reformation, of which only four were founded by the sovereign, the rest being by subjects, and almost all had existed already as privately endowed chapels or churches. A list of provostries and their rents, as in the collectors' books in 1563, is given in Keith's "Affairs" (iii. 510). Another list of thirty-three, with fuller details, is in Keith's "Bishops, Religious Houses" (chap. xix.), where it is mentioned that the patronage of eleven of them belonged to the king—viz. Restalrig, Kirkheugh, St. Giles, Chapel Royal of Stirling, Trinity College, St. Mary-in-the-Fields, Dunbar, Dunbarton, Bothwell, Lincluden, and Tain. A more recent list, arranged in dioceses, is afforded by Bellesheim (ii. 414). Walcott's "Ancient Church of Scotland," pp. 355–375, offers the best list. Muir's "Ancient Parochial and Collegiate Churches of Scotland" (Parker, 1848) deals with the striking architecture of the chief of these churches.

Diocese of St. Andrews.

1. Crail, 1517, by Sir William Myrton, Morton, or Merton, and Janet, prioress of Haddington. Endowed for provost, sacristan, ten prebendaries, and a chorister.
2. Foulis Easter, St. Marnan's or Methvan's, mentioned 1180; consecrated in 1242; made collegiate in 1446 by Sir Andrew Gray. Provost and several prebendaries.
3. St. Andrews, St. Mary's or Kirkheugh, endowed as a Chapel Royal (*capella domini regis Scotorum*) in 1250 by Alexander II. Site on the rock uncovered in 1860. Had provost and ten prebendaries—viz. Arbuthnot, Kinglassie and Kingask, Duray and Rumgally, Feteresso, Dysert, Cameron and Ceres, Bervie, Strathbroke, Benholme. Revenue in 1561, £176 and fourteen chalders of grain.
4. St. Andrews, St. Salvador's, 1458, by Bishop James Kennedy, for a provost and prebendaries, to whom Archbishop Shevez added one in 1496. It held the churches of Cults, Kemback, Denino, and Kilmany, the ministers being vicars-pensionary.
5. Corstorphine or Cross Torphin, St. John Baptist's, 1429, by Sir John Forrester, chamberlain of Scotland, for a provost, eight chaplains, and two singing boys. The prebends were—Invergogar, Norton, Halderstoun, Dalmahoy, Haltoun, Boningtoun, with dependent churches of Ratho, Byres, and Plat.
6. Creyghton, St. Mary's and St. Kentigern's, 1449, by Sir William Creighton, Lord Chancellor, for provost and eight prebendaries, two

singing boys, and a sacrist. Four of the prebends—Vogrie, Arniston, Middleton, and Locherworth—were in the gift of the archbishop.

7. Dalkeith, St. Nicholas', 1406, by Sir James Douglas, earl Morton, for provost and six chaplains.
8. Dirleton Gulane, 1446, by Sir Walter de Haliburton.
9. Dunglas, Greencastle, Haddington, St. Bridget's, 1450, by Sir Alexander Hume, for provost and prebendaries.
10. Dunbar, St. Bega's, 1342 and 1392, by Patrick and George, earls of March, for dean, archdean, or vicedean, and eight prebendaries—viz. Dunbar, Spott, Pinkerton, Belton, Pitcox, Dunse, Chirnside, and Linton, the last three in its patronage.
11. Edinburgh, Trinity College, at the foot of Leith Wynd, 1450, by Mary of Gueldres, widow of James II., for provost, eight prebendaries, two clerks or choristers, and thirteen blue-gown almsmen. The eight prebends were—Holy Trinity Hospital (on opposite side of wynd), the Sacristan, Browderstanes, Strathmartin, Gilestoun, Ormistoun, Hill, and Newlands. It held the churches of Easter Weems, Soutra, Fala, Kirkurd, Ormistoun, Lempetlaw, and Gogar. Taken down in 1845 to make room for a railway.
12. Edinburgh, St. Giles', built 1120, made collegiate in 1466. Amplest in clergy of all the provostries. Provost, curate, sixteen prebendaries, sacristan, beadle, minister of choir, four choristers—in all about a hundred clerics and thirty-six altars. St. Giles *Grange*, "Sanct Gillegrange," as farm. The Perthshire parishes of Dunbarnie, Pottie, and Moncrieff belonged to the provost of St. Giles.
13. Edinburgh, St. Mary's, Kirk of Field, *Sanctæ Mariæ in Campis.* On site of College of Edinburgh, and scene of the Darnley tragedy. Provost and ten prebendaries, two choristers, and hospital for bedesmen. Held churches of Livingstoun and Lempetlaw.
14. Linlithgow, St. Michael's, built by James III. Enlarged by James V. In the south wing, or St. Catharine's Chapel, James IV. had his warning before Flodden. James V. erected twelve stalls, and made St. Michael's the chapel of the Knights of the Thistle.
15. Restalrig, one mile from Edinburgh, 1487 and 1512, by James III. and James V., chiefly the latter. Dean or preceptor, six prebendaries, three chaplains, and, in 1515, two singing boys. The dean held Leswade. The college held St. Mary's, Rothesay, and part of Leith. Octagon chapter-house with central pillar built by Sir Robert Logan (died 1539). Famous as the shrine of St. Triduana. The nave was torn down as idolatrous in 1560. Income, £93 6*s.* 8*d.*
16. Roslin, St. Matthew's, 1446, by William de St. Clair, earl of Orkney, for provost, six prebendaries, a pensioner vicar with cure of souls, and two singing boys. A very splendid surviving building, the *lower* chapel of which was built by Elizabeth, countess of Buchan. Held Pentland Church. Income, £106 13*s.* 4*d.*
17. Seton, 1493, by George, lord Seton, for a provost and six prebendaries, a clerk and two singing boys. Two prebends were added and church enlarged before 1513.
18. Stirling, Chapel Royal, St. Mary's and St. Michael's, by James IV., 1501, for dean, subdean, chanter, sacristan, treasurer, chancellor, archpriets,

succentor, sixteen chaplains, six singing boys, and a choirmaster. The deanery was annexed to provostry of Kirkheugh, St. Andrews, and later to see of Galloway. Held churches of Dunbar, Dalmellington, Alloa, Cultram, Dalrymple, Kelly, and Kirkmore, besides Dundrennan, Inchmahome, Rosneath, Cessnock, Spot, Waltame, Dunse, Pincarton, and was richest of all the provostries.

19. Yester, St. Bothan's or St. Cuthbert's, in East Lothian, 1418 and 1441, by Sir William de Haye, for provost, six prebendaries, chaplain, and two singing boys. Income, provostry, £100; church, £47 2*s.* 4*d.*

Diocese of Glasgow.

20. Biggar, St. Mary's, 1545, by Malcolm Lord Fleming, chancellor, for provost, eight prebendaries, four singing boys, and six almsmen. Held churches of Thankerton and Dunrod.
21. Bothwell, 1398, by Archibald, earl of Douglas, lord of Galloway, for provost and eight prebendaries. The prebends were—Strathaven (£26 13*s.* 4*d.*), Overtoun, Newtoun (£20), Netherfield, Cruikburn, Stanehouse (£30 13*s.* 4*d.*), Hessildene, and Kettymuir. The choir of church survives, with fine monuments, but degraded by heating apparatus of savage colliery aspect for adjoining new church.
22. Carnewath, 1424, by Sir Thomas Somerville, for provost and six prebendaries.
23. Dunbarton (distinct from the Parish Church), was a chapel of the Virgin at Broadmeadow, 1450, by Isabella, countess of Lennox and duchess of Albany. Held churches of Fintray, Strathblane, and Bonhill. Value, £233 6*s.* 8*d.*
24. Glasgow, St. Mary's and St. Anne's, Tron or Laigh Kirk at St. Thenaw's gate, 1528, by James Houston, subdean of cathedral and rector of university, for provost, eight canons, and three choristers. Provost appointed by Abbey of Kilwinning. Prebends of St. Mary, St. James, and St. Roche. Bishop William Elphinstone and Canon Muirhead added prebends of St. Nicholas, St. Andrew, and St. Christopher. Sir Martin Read, chaplain of castle, added prebends of name of Jesus and St. Martin. Master of the song-school. Site occupied by Tron Steeple in 1637.
25. Hamilton or Cadzow, 1462, by Sir James Hamilton, for provost and eight prebendaries.
26. Kilmaurs, 1403, by Sir William Cunningham, for provost, eight prebendaries, and two singing boys. An adjoining estate is called Prebends.
27. Kilwynning, 1443, by Donald Campbell of Lochaw, second Earl of Argyle.
28. Minnibole or Maybole, 1371, by Sir John Kennedy; 1441, by Sir Gilbert Kennedy, for provost and three prebendaries. Provostship had twenty marks; the prebends, fifty-four marks.
29. Peebles, St. Andrew's, 1543, by the magistrates and Lord Hay of Yester. The old church was dedicated in 1115. Another dedication, perhaps enlargement, took place by Bishop Joceline of Glasgow, 1195. Nine prebends—viz. St. Mary, Holy Cross, St. Michael, St. Mary, major, St. Mary Geddes, St. John Baptist, St. Andrew, St. James,

St. Christopher—seem to have been old chantries, while the endowment of 1542 was for a provost, two prebendaries, and two choristers.

30. Sempill or Lochwinnoch, St. Mary's, 1505, by John Lord Sempill, who fell at Flodden, for a provost, rector of Glassford, wearing a lawn surplice, an almuce on the arm, and a scarlet hood; a vicar, sacrist, six chaplains wearing hoods of red cloth lined with lamb's wool, including a clerk in orders, precentor and schoolmaster, and two singing boys. The sacrist to adorn the church with leaves and flowers.
31. Blantyre Provostry, closely associated with Blantyre Priory—making with Bothwell, Cadzow, Carnwath, St. Mary's (Glasgow), and Biggar, six collegiate churches in Lanarkshire.

Diocese of Aberdeen.

32. Old Aberdeen, King's College, 1505, by Bishop William Elphinstone, for eight prebendaries, chanter, sacrist, organist, six singing boys. The chapel of St. Mary was consecrated by Bishop Edward of Orkney; famous for the best preserved carved oaken work in Scotland.
33. New Aberdeen, St. Nicholas', 1441, by Bishop Law, for vicar, curate, and sixteen chaplains (as at 1519, but twenty-two in 1491). Has a crypt of our Lady of Pity. There were thirty altars.
34. Cullen, St. Mary's, founded by Robert Bruce, made collegiate in 1543 by Sir Alexander Ogilvie of Deskford, for provost, six prebendaries, and two singing boys.
35. Kinnethmont, 33 miles north-west of Aberdeen, burnt at the Reformation by Leslie of Balquhain.

Diocese of Moray.

36. Abernethy, 1460, by George, earl of Angus, for eight prebendaries.

Diocese of Brechin.

37. Guthrie, St. Mary's, in Forfarshire, 1479, by Sir David Guthrie, lord treasurer, for provost and five prebendaries. Held the church of Carbuddo or Kirkbuddo. In 1478 Sir D. Guthrie purchased the church from Arbroath Abbey.

Diocese of Dunblane.

38. Methven, 6½ miles from Perth, 1439, by Walter Stewart, earl of Athole, son of Robert II., for provost and five prebendaries.
39. Innerpeffray, in Strathearn, St. Mary's, mentioned 1342, made collegiate in 1508 by first Lord Drummond. Church still entire.
40. Tullibardine, Holy Trinity, in Strathearn, 1446, by Sir David Murray, for a provost and prebendaries. Church still entire.

Diocese of Ross.

41. Tayne, St. Duthac's, 1481, by Bishop Thomas Hay of Ross, for provost, eleven prebendaries, two deacons, clerk, and three singing boys; on the model of Corstorphine. Names of prebends were Newmore, Dunskeath, Tallurky, Morinchy, Cambuscurry, Innerathy. Visited in 1506 by James IV. Great place of pilgrimage. Very copious details of this provostry are given in "Origines Parochiales," II. ii. 416–433.

Diocese of Galloway.

42. Lincluden, St. Mary's, in Terregles parish, $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile from Dumfries, formerly a Benedictine convent (c. 1150), but refounded c. 1400 by Archibald the Grim, earl of Douglas and lord of Galloway, for provost and twelve canons; in 1429 for provost, eight canons, twenty-four bedesmen, and a chaplain. Held churches of Caerlaverock, Kirkbean, Cowen (Colvend), Terregles, and Lochrutton. Income, £423 6*s.* 8*d.* besides victuals.

Diocese of Argyll.

43. Kilmund, St. Mund's, on the Holy Loch, 1442, by Sir Duncan Campbell of Lochaw, for provost and six prebendaries; endowed with three merklands of Achinlochir in barony of Kilmun; six merklands of Blaremore and Gareloch; two carucates of Craighawtis in barony of Cowal; two merklands of Cesflade and Cloyne in Kilmun; one merkland of Kilandrew in Lochow.

CHAPTER XII.

MONASTERIES.

Austin Canons, Tyronenses, Cluniacenses, Cistertienses, Vallis Caulians, Carthusians, Præmonstratenses, Benedictines, Trinity Friars—Friars or Mendicants—Convents—Hospitals or Maisons Dieu.

Rented or Endowed Religious.

I. Austin Canons, or Canons Regular of St. Augustine.

1. Scone Abbey, dedicated to the Holy Trinity, St. Mary, St. Laurence, St. Augustine, and St. Michael, was founded by Alexander I. (on an earlier Culdee foundation), and colonized from Oswald's Nostell in 1114. It held eleven churches—viz. Scone, Cambusmichael, Kinfauns, Logierait, Blair in Gowrie, Redgorton, Kilspindyrait, Logie, Dundee, Liff, Invergowrie. The income was £1140 Scots, besides victual. There were eighteen canons. The abbey wall inclosed fully 12 acres. It contained the Stone of Destiny used at coronations, brought from Dunstaffnage, and in 1296 removed by Edward I. to Westminster. The abbey was wrecked in 1559 by a reform mob from Dundee. It was erected into a temporal lordship for the Earl of Gowrie, and in 1604 Sir David Murray, of the family of Tullibardine, became Lord Scone. The "Liber Ecclesie de Scon," published by the Maitland Club in 1843, gives 233 charters, from 1114 to 1570.

2. Inchcolm, in Firth of Forth, was founded in 1123 by Alexander I., who had been entertained here by a hermit for three days in his cell, near a stone-roofed little chapel of St. Colm, 15¾ feet long, which still remains after having served as a piggery and byre! The conventual remains consist of a refectory, with a wall-pulpit; the abbot's house; a stone-roofed octagonal chapter-house, and a library over it. In 1405 the vaulted Lady chapel on the south of the choir was founded. The abbey was burned by the English in 1382 and in 1385, not without a judgment on the marauders by the "St. Quhalme," as they punned St. Colm. The tower (20½ feet square) is similar in form and details to that of Iona, and probably of the same age. The new choir (78×15 feet) of 1265 is of later date than the tower, on which it abuts.[1] Walter Bower, the continuator of Fordun's "Scotichronicon," was abbot here from 1418 to 1449. Inchcolm was the prison of Archbishop Patrick Graham of St. Andrews, who was driven mad by the oppression of his enemies. The income was £138. James Stuart of Beith, of the Ochiltree family, became commendator on the surrender of Abbot Henry in 1543. His second son, Henry Stuart, became Lord St. Colm in 1611.

3. St. Andrews Priory was recognized in 1144 by charter of Bishop Robert, and shortly after this one of the monks wrote "Magnum Registrum," its Book of Muniments, in which the Keledei are referred to. In

[1] See Gordon's "Monasticon," iii. 51–68; also Ross's "Aberdour and Inchcolme."

1144 the Hospital of the Keledei, with its parsonage, was transferred to the Canons Regular, and they were confirmed in possession of two more parsonages already assigned to them, the bishop retaining his seventh, thus leaving three parsonages as before. David I. made an ordinance that the prior and canons of St. Andrews should receive into incorporation with them the Keledei of Kilrymont, but if the Keledei refused then they were to have only their life interest. This provision recurs under successive popes till 1248, so that the Keledei held their old separate place in spite of king, pope, and bishop trying to absorb them. In 1309 they still held lands in the *Cursus Apri*. But in 1332, when William Bell was chosen bishop, they were excluded from the election, and ceased from troubling. The priory possessed twenty-one churches or their great tithes, viz — Trinity Church, St. Andrews, given by Bishop Richard; Lathrisk, by Nesius, son of William; Leuchars, by the same; Dairsey, by Bishop Arnold; Forgan, in Fife, by David I.; Markinch, by Duncan, earl of Fife; Portmoak, by Bishop Arnold; Cupar, in Fife, by Duncan, earl of Fife; Scoonie, by the same; Kennoway, by Thirleswan, son of Colban; St. Cyrus or Ecclesgreig, by Bishop Richard; Rossie, in Gowrie, or Rossieclerach, by Matthew, archdeacon of St. Andrews; Inchsture, by Bishop Richard; Forgan, in Gowrie, or Longforgan, by Bishop Roger; Fowls (Easter), by Bishop Richard; Linlithgow, by David I.; Haddington, by the same; Bourtie, by William de Lamberton; Tharflund or Tarland, by Earl Morgund; Miggaveth or Migvie, by the same; Dull, by Malcolm, earl of Atholl.

To the above twenty-one, which rest on charters, are to be added eleven on the evidence of papal bulls, &c.: Thelin or Tealing, by Hugo Giffard and William his son; Meigle, by Simon de Meigle; Abercrombie, Kilgour, by Duncan, twelfth earl of Fife; Kinaldie, by Simon, bishop of Moray; Auldcathy; Fordun, by King Robert Bruce; Strathmeiglo, Binning, Mucrosin, and Tannadice; also two churches in Ireland, Ruskin and Karlingsford, given by Hugo de Lascy, earl of Wilton.

A list of twenty-five priors, beginning with Robert (1140–1162), and ending with Lord James Stewart (natural son of James V., died 1570), is given in Lyon's "History of St. Andrews" (ii. 268).[1] The cells and priories belonging to St. Andrews were—Lochleven, Portmoak, Monymusk, Isle of May, and Pittenweem. The revenue given in in 1561 for the priory was £2239 Scots and £8000 = grain.

The priory buildings on the south of the cathedral were surrounded by a wall 20 feet high and 4 feet thick, commenced by Prior John Hepburn in 1516, and still nearly entire. It has thirteen round and square turrets, each with a niche for an image, and with a staircase. There were three gates, the chief being the "Pends," 75 feet long by 16 broad, and a fine Gothic arch at each end. The ground inclosed by the wall was 20 acres, and in the time of Martine, secretary to Archbishop Sharpe, contained fourteen different buildings, of which the chief were:—The prior's house, *Hospitium Vetus*, or old inn; cloister, to the west of the prior's house, where was held the Senzie Fair in second week of Easter; the Senzie house or consistory house, for the sub-prior; the dortour or dormitory, between the prior's house and the cloister; the refectory, 108 feet by 28; the guest-

[1] The prior of St. Andrews took precedence of all the abbots of Scotland, by bull of Martin V.

hall for strangers and pilgrims, on the south-west of the road from the Pends to the shore; the new inn, or *Novum Hospitium*, built in a month for Magdalene, queen of James V., afterwards the house of the later archbishops. Besides these were—the teind barn, the abbey mill, and the granary.

4. Lochleven Priory, in Kinross-shire, was dedicated to St. Serf or Servanus. Lochleven has seven islands, the largest of which, St. Serf's Island, has an area of 80 acres. The next largest, Castle Island, of 8 acres extent, is that which is associated with Queen Mary's captivity. Andrew Winton, author of the "Orygynale Cronykil of Scotland," was prior of Lochleven from 1395 to 1420 or 1424. In 842 Brude, son of Dergard, the last of the Pictish kings, gave the island of Lochleven to God, St. Servan, and the Keledean hermits dwelling there in conventual devotion. This is the earliest notice of Keledei. Before 961 the Culdees had given up the island to Bishop Fothad of St. Andrews so long as he should provide them with food and raiment. In 1144 Bishop Robert conferred the island and other Culdee possessions on the Canons Regular of St. Andrews. This was repeated by David I. in 1145, and made more peremptory.

The priory held the churches of Markinch, Scoonie, Hurkyndorath or Auchterderran, Portmoak, Balchristie, and Bolgie. A list of the books of the Culdees in 1144 is given in the Register of St. Andrews, meagre but of extreme interest:—A pastorale, a gradual, a missal, the works of Origen, the sentences of St. Bernard, a treatise on the Sacraments, a portion of the Bible, a lectionary, the Acts of the Apostles, the Gospels, the works of Prosper, the Book of Proverbs, Ecclesiastes and Canticles, a gloss on the Canticles, a book of Interpretationes Dictionum, a collection of sentences, a commentary on Genesis, selections of ecclesiastical rules. St. Serf's chapel was 30 feet by 20, with walls 12 feet high and 2½ thick. Two miles distant, at the village of Kinneswood, was a very old manufactory of parchment, probably a survival of the monastery. A seven years' apprenticeship was needed to the business. The income of the priory was £111 Scots, with 28 bolls of bear and 72 bolls of meal.

5. Isle of May and Pittenweem Priory. The Isle of May, in the Firth of Forth, is one mile long by three quarters of a mile broad, and is six miles south of Anstruther Wester. The isle is associated with St. Adrian or Adran = Macgidrin of Flisk and Lindores, who came from Ireland in 845, bringing the relics of St. Monan or Monenn. At first a Culdee settlement it was re-constituted by David I. and granted to the Benedictine Abbey of Reading in Yorkshire, recently founded by his brother-in-law, Henry Beauclerc, on condition that they should place and maintain there nine (afterwards increased to thirteen) priests of their brethren to celebrate divine service for the soul of the donor and the souls of his predecessors and successors, kings of Scotland. Other gifts were added, particularly to the parish of Anstruther, part of Rhynd, Mayshiels (in Fife), Beal (in Lothian), Lingo, Petother.[1] The monks of the isle had land and a landing-place and house at Pittenweem as early as 1114, which, as less exposed, seems gradually to have eclipsed

[1] Stuart's "Isle of May," pref. xxxix.

the May. The first notice of a prior of Pittenweem is in 1221. In 1269 Bishop Wishart of St. Andrews paid 1100 merks to the Abbot of Reading for all his rights, and then bestowed the priory on the Priory of St. Andrews—this being finally adjusted only in 1318. Pittenweem was made free regality in 1452 by James II., and in 1472 Pope Sixtus IV. made it *mensal* to the Bishop of St. Andrews—but this never took effect. In 1526 Pittenweem was made a barony by James V. James IV. (as seen from the Lord Treasurer's accounts) paid many visits of pilgrimage to the May, *e.g.* 21st May, 1490; 3rd June, 1503; 6th and 29th July, 1505; 29th July, 1506; 25th August, 1507; 2nd July, 1508.

Under Prior John Roull or Rowle (1526–1552) the old possessions, held since the twelfth century, were mostly alienated, among others in favour of four bastard sons of his own. He was succeeded by Lord James Stewart, prior of St. Andrews from 1552, as perpetual commendator of Pittenweem.

6. Holyrood Abbey was founded in 1128 by David I. in honour of the Holy Cross, Blessed Virgin Mary, and All Saints. The Cross associated with the foundation was not legendary in David's miraculous escape from an enraged stag by the intervention of a cross, as told by Boëce, but historic in the Black Rood of his mother St. Margaret, which she held in her hand on her deathbed in the Castle of Edinburgh in 1093, and which was captured from David II. in 1346 at the battle of Neville's Cross, and long treasured in Durham Cathedral as a charm and trophy.[1]

The churches held by the abbey were:—Karreden, with two ploughgates of land, granted by Robert, bishop of St. Andrews; Levingstone, by Turstan, son of Leving; Trevernent, its lands, pastures, and tithes, by Thor, son of Swanus; Ogelfas or Ogilface, in Torphichen, whole land of, by Willelmus de Veteriponte; Kinnel or Kinniel, with a ploughgate of land, by Herbert, the great chamberlain; Paxtun church and Bathchet church, with a ploughgate (later exchanged with Newbottle for part of carse of Falkirk); Dunrod, in Kirkcudbright, by Fergus, lord of Galloway (a monk of Holyrood), and his son Uchtred; Trahil or Trail (St. Mary's Isle), by the same; Galtweid, by the same; Kirkbride of Blacket, by the same; St. Cuthbert of Desnesmor or Kirkcudbright, by the same; Tungland, by the same; Twenhame, by the same; St. Constantine of Colmanel, by the same; St. Constantine chapel of Egingham, by the same; Kirkandrew of Balmaghie by the same; Kelton, by the same; Kyrkecormac, by the same; Balnecros chapel (the last four belonged anciently to Iona); Anwoth, by David, son of Terr; Culeness chapel, by the same; Eglysbryth or Falkirk, early; Mount Lothian, in Penycuik; Melginche, with Abthen land; Penteland chapel; Boulton, by De Veteriponte; Eister Kyngorne; Ur; St. Constantine of Crawford, with castle chapel; Baru or Barra, near Garvald; St. Michael of Dalegarnoc; St. Mary-in-the-Fields, at Edinburgh (afterwards collegiate Kirk of Field); Airth; Corstorphin; Hamir or Whitekirk; Libberton.

Dependent cells of Holyrood were—St. Mary's Isle in Galloway, Blantyre in Clydesdale, Rowadil in Harris, Colonsay, Crusay, and Oransay.

The chief territories of the abbey were—in the Carse of Falkirk, round its churches of Airth, Kinniel, and Falkirk; in Livingston, Bathgate,

[1] Gordon's "Monasticon" (140) gives the foundation charter.

Ogleface. and Carriden. It had large grants in Preston, Tranent, and Bolton, and the whole of Hamir, now Whitekirk. Closer around the abbey, from early times, it possessed the burgh of Canongate, the baronies of Broughton and Inverleith, Sauchton and Sauchtonhall, with estates held by vassals in Merchiston, Liberton, and Craigmillar.

The valuation given in 1561 (ridiculously small compared with the above charter roll) was £2926. Gordon's "Monasticon" (151–160) gives a list of thirty abbots, beginning with Alwin, who resigned in 1150, and ending with Adam Bothwell, resigned c. 1581, died 1593. The nave alone survives, the east gable with its fine window being a comparatively modern partition, which leaves outside both the transept and choir with lady chapel of the original abbey church, Holyrood Palace occupying the site of the cloister and other ecclesiastical edifices.

7. BLANTYRE PRIORY, on the Clyde opposite Bothwell Castle, planted on a picturesque crag, was but a small house and a cell of Holyrood, yet its prior often sat in Parliament. It was closely associated with the parish church, 1½ mile distant, which is sometimes called collegiate; this is probably the reason why one of the priors is called dean also, as at the head of both. The income was £131. The benefice was given by James VI. to Walter Stuart, son of Lord Minto, made Lord Blantyre in 1606, the reason of the gift being that as a boy Stuart was educated with the king and shared his floggings. On one occasion the priory gave retreat to Wallace, and the spot is still pointed out where he dropped from a window and fled when pursued.

8. CAMBUSKENNETH ABBEY, on the Forth, one mile below Stirling, was founded by David I. in 1147—the name St. Kenneth's Bend or Crook showing that previously it had some consecrated character. In 1315 the abbot was mitred. The church was 178 feet long by 37 broad, having a nave with a north aisle, a choir and transept with an east aisle. A detached tower of four storeys, and 35 feet square, survives. Not least interesting is an adjacent orchard with an ancient wall inclosing it. There were chapels of St. Andrew, St. John Baptist, St. Laurence the martyr, St. Katharine, and All Saints. It was destroyed in 1559 by a reform mob. The second last abbot was Alexander Myln, first president of the Court of Session in 1532, and author of "Lives of the Bishops of Dunkeld," one of the great men of his age. In the scramble and squandering that followed the Reformation, the lands of Cambuskenneth fell to John, earl of Mar, and his nephew Adam became commendator. In 1608 James VI. settled the barony on Alexander Erskine of Alva. In 1607 the income in money was £1067.

The churches, with their tithes and pertinents, which belonged to the abbey were—Clackmannan, with its chapels; Kinclaven, with all its pertinents; Tillicoultry; Kincardine, in Menteith; Gleneagles; Eccles or St. Ninian's, with its chapels of Larbert and Dunipace, and other chapels and oratories; Alva; Kirkintilloch; Tillibody, with its chapels at Alloa; Forteviot; Kilmaronock; Kinnoul; Lecropt; Arngask; and Kippen.

The abbey possessed, in addition, the lands or farm of Cambuskenneth, Colling, Bandeath, with its wood, Carsie, Tillibody, Rendinch; the lands of Kettlestone, with mills; lands on Forth between Pullemiln and the road to the ships; tofts at Stirling, Perth, Linlithgow, Haddington, and

Renfrew; forty acres with toft and mill, priests' croft, in Clackmannan; lands at Kinclaven; lands at Kincardine; half a carucate, with a toft, at Crail; half a carucate, with meadow, at Balcormac; a carucate at Binning; a carucate at Kirkintilloch; two oxgangs in Dunipace; part of the lands of Menstrie; lands at Inverkeithing, Duneglin (?), and Ayr; Fintilloch (Fintalich?), in Stratherne; lands of Cambusbarron; Maldar, near Touch; lands with mills at Arngask; and lands of Loching.

Privileges and casualties of the abbey were—fishing with one net in the Forth between Cambuskenneth and Polmaise; fishings of Carsie and Tillibody; fishing with one net in the Clyde near Renfrew; one salt-pan with the necessary land about it; half of skins and tallow of beasts slain for the king's use at Stirling; tenth of all sums paid for obtaining decreets in courts of Stirling and Callander; kane or custom of one ship; tenth of the king's feu-duties of the lordship of Stirling; forty shillings yearly out of the customs of Perth; a common pasturage in Petcorthing in Crail; a merk of silver out of the revenues of Crail; pasturage of 500 sheep and 20 cows at Binning; grazing of certain cows at Borland near Kincardine; tenth of feu-duties of Bothkennar, amounting to 6 chalders of grain and £8 0*s.* 5*d.* Scots yearly; additional chalder of grain by grant of Sir William More; pension of 100 shillings out of church of Blair (Drummond?); forty shillings out of the king's revenues of Airth, besides the tenth of the feus; £10 out of the revenues of Plean; forty shillings out of the revenues of Stirling; 20 *cuderui* or kebbocks of cheese of the revenues of Stirling; certain privileges in wood of Keltory or Torwood; oblations presented to the church of the monastery, without any deduction whatever.

Cells or priories of Cambuskenneth were Inchmahome and Rosneath.

9. JEDBURGH ABBEY, dedicated to St. Mary, is one of the foundations of David I. in 1118, before he came to the throne. It was at first only a priory, but in 1150 became an abbey, being at first under Durham. The name Jedburgh or Jedworth has been spelled in eighty-two ways, each given with an authority in "Origines Parochiales" (i. 366). It suffered dreadfully in Border wars, especially in 1296, 1523, 1544, and 1559, so that its ruinous state, like that of a large group of religious houses, is quite independent of the iconoclastic rage of the Reformation. The abbey church, in which the services were conducted by one of the monks as chaplain, was the church of the parish before the Reformation.

The abbey held the churches of—Jedburgh, Eckford, Hownan, Oxnam, Longnewton, Dalmeny, Barton and Grendon, Crailing, Nesbit, Plenderleith, Hopkirk, Belshers, Abbotsleigh, Bassenthwaite and Kirkanders, Lidal and Doddington.

Other possessions of the abbey of Jedburgh were—chapel in the forest glade opposite Xeruwingslaw or Mervinslaw in Southdean; the tithe of the king's hunting in Teviotdale; Ulveston or Ulston, Alneclive (near Ancrum), Crumesethe, Rapeslawe, with the right boundaries of these towns; a house in the burgh of Roxburgh; a house in Berwick; a third house in Berwick with its toft; one stream opposite the island Tonsmidhop; Eadwardesle, now Long Edwardly; pasture for their cattle along with those of the king; timber and wood in his forests, according to their wants, except in Quikebeg (?); the multure of the mill from all the men of Jedde-

worth, *ubi castellum est;* a salt-pan near Stirling; Rule Herevei, according to its right boundaries and just pertinents (exchanged for a ten-pound land elsewhere). By grant of William the Lion—church of Barton; church of Grendon; a toft and seven acres in burgh of Jeddeworth; in their houses in Berwick such liberty that none of the king's servants presume to exact the tuns in which wine was brought thither by merchants, and which were emptied there; one fishing in the Tweed, above the bridge, which William of Lamberton resigned to the king's grandfather. By Sheriff Gospatrick—one and a half ploughgate and three acres of land, with two houses in Crailing. By Berengarius Engain—one mark of silver in the mill of Crailing and two oxgangs of land, with one villain and one toft; and for the maintenance of the chaplainry of the same town, other two oxgangs of land with another toft; and one other toft near the church. By David Olifar—the tithe of the mill of the same Crailing. By Orm, the son of Eilau—one ploughgate of land in the other Crailing. By Richard Inglis—two oxgangs of land in Scranesburg or Hunthill, and two oxgangs in Langeton. By Gamel, the clerk—Caverum, with consent of his sons, Osulf and Ughtred. By Margaret, the wife of Thomas de Loudon, with consent of the same Thomas and of Henry Lovel, the son of the same Margaret—Ughtredsxaghe, with its right boundaries. By Christian, the wife of Gervase Ridel—one-third of the town of Xeruwingslaw. By Geoffrey de Perci—the church of Oxenham, with two ploughgates of lands and two oxgangs adjacent to the same church; and the common pasture and common fuel of the same Oxenham; and Newbigging and pasture and fuel in common with the other men of Oxenham, which Newbigging, Henry de Perci, after the death of the foresaid Geoffrey, his brother, confirmed to the canons in presence of King William's brother, Malcolm. By Radulph, the son of Dunegal, and Bethoc, his wife—one ploughgate of land in Rughechestre (Rochester, near Otterburn), and the common pasture of the same town. By Turgot of Rossedale—the religious house of Lidel or Canonby and the whole land adjacent to it; the church of Kirkander with all its pertinents. By Guy of Rossedale, with consent of Ralph, his son—forty-two acres between Esk and Lidel, where they meet, and the freedom of the water from the moat of Lidel to the church of Lidel. By Ranulph de Solis—the church of the valley of Lidel, and the church of Dodington, near Berton, and one-half ploughgate of land in Nasebith. By Gervase Ridel, afterwards canon of Jeddeworth, and by Ralph, his brother—the church of Alboldesle, with all its pertinents and rights. By William de Vipont—one ploughgate of the land in his demesne of Caredene, with the common easement of the town.

At the Reformation the monastery was suppressed and its revenues were annexed to the Crown, but it seems to have been held *in commendam* by Andrew, the last abbot, from 1560 till 1593. About 1600 the spirituality was conferred on Alexander, Lord Home, and in 1606 the abbacies of Jedburgh and Coldinghame were erected into a temporal lordship in his favour.

10. Restennot or Rostinoth Priory, St. Peter, one mile north of Forfar, in the midst of a loch (now drained), accessible by a causeway and drawbridge. Here were kept for safety the muniments of Jedburgh Abbey, of which it was a cell. The foundation of David I. in 1159 was on the site

of an earlier church erected by St. Boniface c. 624, who also erected Invergowrie and Tealing.

David gave to the monks certain thanages, bondagia, and royal lands. The charter by Malcolm IV. (1159–1163) specifies as possessions—the churches of Crachnatharach, Pethefrin, Tealing, Druimald, Dysart, and Egglispether, with their pertinents; the whole teinds of the king's other places in Angus, including those in money, wool, chickens, cheese, and malt, and those of the mill and fish-market of Forfar; also 10*s.* out of Kynaber, the whole teinds of the king's farms or lordships of Salorch, Montrose, and Rossie; the free passage of Scottewater, *i.e.* Firth of Forth; a toft in each of the burghs of Perth, Stirling, Edinburgh, and Forfar; together with a toft in Salorch, and 20*s.* for the light of the church of Salorch itself, with the king's salt-pits and mill of Montrose. William the Lion, between 1189 and 1199, gave the lands of Ardnequere (supposed to be Cossans) in exchange for Foffarty, which, with waters, woods and plains, meadows and pastures, muirs and marshes, were to be held in free and perpetual alms by the prior and canons. Alexander III. gave the tenth of the hay of the meadow of his forest of Plater, near Finhaven.

In the time of King Robert I. the writs of the priory were lost, and a *Notitia* was made to replace them by evidence. The king thereafter gave license to cut wood at all times in his forest of Plater for waggons, carts, yokes, halters, and the like; he gave also the teinds of the king's horses and studs, and a third of the hay of the forest of Plater. In 1333 Sir Alexander Lindsay of Glenesk gave an annuity out of the barony of Duny; and in 1336 Bishop James Bene of St. Andrews gave his whole lands of Rescobie. David II. in 1344 gave 20 merks sterling from the great customs of Dundee. Andrew Dempster of Careston and William and John Collace of Balnamoon gave £4 from the thanedom of Menmuir (confirmed in 1360).

The priory chapel and tower, 70 feet high, with a broach spire, still remain, visible on the east side of the railway north of Forfar. The valuation of the priory was £275. The lands and site were granted in 1606 to Sir Thomas Erskine, afterwards Earl of Kellie.

11. Canonby Priory, on the Esk, founded c. 1165 by Turgot of Rossedale. The prior sat in the Parliament of Brigham in 1290. Monastery and church were destroyed by the English after Solway Moss in 1542. Site of convent at Halgreen or Holygreen, half a mile east of the village. It held the churches of St. Abbulbie or Selbie, Waulhopdull, and Castleton.

12. Inchaffray Abbey in Strathearn, in the parish of Maderty, was dedicated to God, St. Mary, and St. John Evangelist. It is called in charters *Insula Missarum* (the isle of masses = inis aifrionn). The first charter of the abbey, by Earl Gilbert, is witnessed by the Countess Matilda, his wife, and his six sons. By its great charter, in 1200, Inchaffray was endowed with the churches of—St. Kattanus of Abruthven, St. Ethernanus of Maderty, St. Patrick of Strogeath, St. Meckessok of Auchterarder, St. Beanus of Kinkell; with the tithe of the earl's kain and rents of wheat, meal, malt, cheese, and all provisions throughout the year in his court; with tithe of all fish brought into his kitchen, and of the produce of his hunting; and the tithe of all the profits of his courts of

justice, and all offerings. The monks had the liberty of fishing in the Peffer, and of fishing and birding over all the earl's lands, waters, and lakes. They might take timber for building and other uses from his woods, and have their pannage or mast-feeding for pigs, as well as bark and firewood, in whatever places and as much as they chose. Some years later Earl Gilbert granted also the church of St. Beanus of Foulis, with the "dower" land of the church and the common pasturage of the parish, and the church of the Holy Trinity of Gask, with the same privileges. The founder died in 1223. Abbot Maurice blessed Bruce's army at Bannockburn in 1314, and another abbot fell at Flodden in 1513. Cells belonging to Inchaffray were—Strathfillan, Scarinche, and Abernethy. The valuation in 1563 was £666. In 1556 James Drummond, younger and infant son of the second Lord Drummond, was secular commendator of Inchaffray, which was erected into a temporal lordship, and in 1609 he was created Lord Maderty. The "Liber Insule Missarum," by the Bannatyne Club (1847), gives eighty-four charters, rental of 1563, taxed roll of lordship for 1630, and forty-seven *Cartæ recentiores.*

Smaller Houses of the Austin Canons.

1. Loch Tay, island near Kenmore, 1122, by Alexander I. Cell of Scone.

2. Portmoak Priory, on St. Serf's Isle, in Lochleven. A Culdee settlement in 838, but hardly distinct from Lochleven Priory on the same isle.

3. Monymusk Priory, 1080 and 1179. Culdee. Ten churches.

4. St. Mary's Isle Priory at Trail, 1129. Kirkcudbright. Three churches. Cell of Holyrood.

5. Rowadill or Rodil Priory, St. Clement's. Harris. Cell of Holyrood.

6. Oronsay Priory, founded by St. Columba. Refounded by the Lord of the Isles in the fourteenth century. Cell of Holyrood.

7. Colonsay Abbey, Kilouran. Culdee. Cell of Holyrood.

8. Inchmahome Priory, c. 1296. Isle of St. Colmac near Aberfoyle. Held three churches. Founder, Murdoch, earl of Menteith. Cell of Cambuskenneth.

9. Rosneath Priory, before 1199. Founder, St. Modan, in time of Congal, who died in 602. Cell of Cambuskenneth.

10. Strathfillan Priory, 1314, on the Dochart. Founder, King Robert I. Cell of Inchaffray.

11. Scarinche Priory, Isle of Lewis, in honour of St. Catan. Cell of Inchaffray.

12. Abernethy Priory, originally Culdee. Cell of Inchaffray, from which canons came in 1273.

II. Tyronenses. Founded in 1109 *at Tyron, near Chartres, by St. Bernard, abbot of St. Cyprian's, in Poictou.*

1. Kelso or Calchow Abbey, was first founded at Selkirk by David I. in 1113, and at Kelso in 1128. The first abbot of Selkirk was Herbert, afterwards Bishop of Glasgow in 1147. The last abbot of Kelso was James Stuart, natural son of James V., who died in 1559.

The parishes possessed by Kelso were—Selkirk, Molle, Sprouston, Home (in Stitchel), Greenlaw (with chapels Lambden and Halyburton),

Symprinc, Keith or Humbie, Makerston, Maxwell, Gordon, Innerlethan, Roxburgh (its three churches), Ednam, Crailing, Yetholm, Bolden (barony of), Fogo, Langton, Nenthorn with chapel of Little Newton (in exchange for Cranston), Duddingston, Caldor Clere or East Calder, Pencaithland, Peebles Castle Chapel, Linton, Rutheric, Cambusnethan, Dunsyre, Wiston with chapels Roberton and Symington, Thankerton or Wode-kirk, Crawfordjohn, Carluke, Campsie with Altercummin or Antermony, Culter, Birnie (in Moray), Dumfries, Morton, Closeburn, Trailflat and Drumgray, Stapilgorton (in Langholm).

Each of these parishes had lands besides teinds, and some very extensive—*e.g.* in the single parish of Molle (now absorbed in Morebattle) the list of grants to the monks occupies three pages (454–7) in Gordon's "Monasticon." The Kelso rent-roll of 1290 is our best guide to old Scottish agriculture and village life, of which the monks were great patrons, holding extensive lands "in dominico," in their own hands, and managing them from their granges. From this "in dominico" system come the names demesne (Norman-French), domain, and mains = home farm. These holdings were estimated by ploughlands and the number of sheep. Their crops were oats, barley, and wheat. Hill pasture afforded hay by withdrawing sheep for a time. They had waggons for harvesting and wains for their peateries. Colpinhope, in Yetholm, had 500 sheep with 200 dinmonts; Sprouston had 300 hogs; Molle, at Altonburn, had 300 dinmonts; Berehope, 700 wedders; Newton, 1000 ewes and 60 swine; Makerston or Malcalverston, 300 lambs. Witelaw, besides two flocks of wedders, had four score cows. Each grange had a hamlet of thirty or forty *cottarii*, each of whom had from one to nine acres of land with his cottage. Beyond the grange and the cottar-town were the farmsteads of the *husbandi*, each of whom on his husband-land kept two oxen, and six of these husbandmen united their pairs of oxen so as to work in common the ponderous old plough.

In 1300 at Reveden or Redden in Yetholm the monks had—the grange, which they tilled with five ploughs drawn by sixty oxen, and where they pastured fourteen score of ewes besides oxen; half a ploughgate, let to Richard of the Holm; eight husband-lands and one oxgang, for each of which the following services were done—viz. every week in summer a journey to Berwick with one horse, which was to carry three bolls of corn, and return either with two bolls of salt or one boll and a ferloch (= firlot) of coals; and on the next day after every such journey, one day's work of whatever kind might be wanted. When not required to go to Berwick, they wrought two days in summer and three days in autumn. To stock his farm each husbandman received two oxen and one horse, three chalders oats, six bolls barley, and three of wheat. Abbot Richard commuted these services for money in the hard times of Edward I., when they gave back their stock, and each paid 18*s.* per annum for his land. There were nineteen cottages, eighteen of which were let for 12*d.* a year and six days' work in autumn, during which they were found in food, as they were also at sheep-washing and sheep-shearing time; the nineteenth cottage paid 18*d.* a year and nine days' work. They had also two brewhouses, which paid to the abbey two merks a year, and a miln, which paid nine merks.

On 30th June, 1523, Lord Dacre unleaded the convent, and burnt the Lady chapel, abbot's palace, and monks' dormitory. It was burnt again in 1542 by the Duke of Norfolk. Worse havoc was made by Lord Hereford. It suffered further in 1544 and 1547. The revenues were £2495, or including Lesmahago £3716. The lands were made into an earldom of Kelso in 1605 for Sir Robert Kerr of Cessford.

2. Lesmahago Priory, a cell of Kelso, was founded by David I. in 1144, the old dedication to St. Machutus or Malo being retained. The name is the quick and rural pronunciation of Ecclesia St. Machuti. The older Culdee monastery was at Abbey Green.

Its churches were—Closeburn, Trailflat, Roberton, Urmiston, Symington, Drumgre, Dunsyre, Morton, Kilmaurs, Carluke, Lesmahago.

The priory church was burnt down at night by John of Eltham, brother of Edward III., in 1335, when many poor refugees were crowded round St. Malo's shrine, which was a sanctuary, and defined outside by four boundary crosses. The bones of these victims slain in defiance of church law were brought to light in 1803 in digging the foundation of the present parish church, and the pile of them was large enough to be compared to a peat-stack. The savage perpetrator was stabbed by his own brother in a quarrel at Perth in 1336.

The revenue in 1556 was £1214; bere, fifteen chalders; meal, eleven chalders; oats, four chalders; and 250 fowls, counting six score to the hundred. At that time there were five brethren of the convent taking yearly, for pensions, habits, silver, and other dues, £88, with 2 chalders 12½ bolls meal and 5 chalders bere; a forester, cultellar, falconer, porter, brewer, barber, and boatman on the Clyde, in the monks' service. One boll meal was allowed for each of these three—washing altar-cloths, leading convent fuel, and "grathing the garden." The abbey gardens and orchards remained objects of interest even in 1773, together with the abbey green, the site of the village.

3. Kilwinning Abbey, on a site sacred to St. Winning (579), was founded in 1140 by Hugh de Morville, constable of Scotland. A western bell-tower, 32 feet square by 103 high, fell in 1814. From 1488 it was associated with archery sports of the popinjay, papingo, or parrot.

The churches held by Kilwinning were—Kilwinning, Dalgarven, Irvine, Kilmarnock, Loudon, Ardrossan, Kilbirnie, Kilbride, Beith, Kirkmichael of Gemilston, Dunlop, Dreghorn, Dalry, Stevenston, Stewarton; Dunbarton, Kilmaronock; South and North Knapdale; Kilmory and Kilbride, in Arran.

The last abbot, Gavin Hamilton of Raploch, dean of Glasgow, was killed in the Canongate of Edinburgh, 28th June, 1571. Revenue in 1563, £880. In 1603 erected in a temporal lordship for the Earl of Eglinton.

4. Aberbrothoc or Arbroath Abbey was founded in 1178, and dedicated to St. Thomas of Canterbury by William the Lion. St. Thomas was slain on the 29th December, 1170, and canonized in 1173. William seems to have been acquainted with Thomas in early life. The abbey, begun in 1178, became the burial-place of its founder in 1214, and was dedicated in 1233. It was burnt in 1272, 1380, and 1445. It suffered from an English fleet in 1350. The gifts of the founder were—the territory of Athyn or Ethie and Achinglas; the shires (or parishes)

of Dunechtyn and Kingoldrum; a net's fishing in Tay, called Stok, and one in the North Esk; a salt work in the carse of Stirling; the ferry-boat of Montrose with its land; the custody of the "Brecbannach," with the lands of Forglen attached to that office; a plough of land in Monethen or Mondyne on the Bervy; a toft in each of the king's burghs and residences, and a license of timber in his forests; the patronage and tithes of the following churches:—In Angus—St. Mary of Old Munros, with its land, Newtyl, Glammis, Athyn or Ethie, Dunechtyn, Kingoldrum, Inverlunan, Panbryd, Fethmuref or Barry, Monieky, Guthery. In the Mearns—Nig, Kateryn or Caterlin. In Mar—Banchory, St. Ternan, Coul. In Fermartyn—Fyvie, Tarves. In Buchan—Gaweryn. In Banff—St. Marnan of Aberchirder, Inverbondin or Boindie, Banf. Inverness; Abernethy, in Strathearn; Hautwisil, in Tyndale.

Additional gifts in William the Lion's reign were—by the Earls of Angus, the churches of Monifod or Monifieth, Muraus, Kerimore, Stradechty Comitis or Mains; the lands of Portincraig (now Broughty).

Marjory, countess of Buchan, gifted Turfred or Turref; Ralf le Naym, Inverugy; Roger, bishop of St. Andrews, Aberhelot or Arbirlot; the De Berkeleys, Inverkelidor or Inverkeelor and the lands of Balfeith or Belphe; Thomas de Lundyn, *ostiarius regis*, Kinerny and the forest land at the junction of the Dee and Canny, called *nemus de Trostauch*, now "the Wood of Trustach."

Robert de Lundres, natural son of William the Lion, gifted the church of Ruthven; the Malherbes gave two oxgates in Rossy, and a rent of 2*s.* from Balnaves in Kinnell; the Fitz-Bernards (Sibald of Kair) gave the "Rath" of Katerlin on the coast of Mearns; the De Montforts, Glaskeler, adjoining; the family of Abbot or Abbe, the right of charcoal from their wood of Edale or Edzell; the Fitz-Thancards, the lands between Ethkar and Calledower, and the davach of Ballegillegrand; the bishops of Brechin, some lands in Stracatherach; the St. Michaels, the lands of Mundurnach or Mundurno on Don, north of Aberdeen; Earl David, brother of William the Lion, Kinalchmont or Kinethmont in Garioch, measured and arable; the Earl of Buchan, a mark of silver yearly; the Earl of Stratherne, a half mark from the fishing of Ur or Mickleour on Tay; Richard de Frivill, a plough of land from Ballekelefan; Richard de Frivill, Philip de Melvil, his father-in-law, Walter Sibald, and William the Lion, a small territory about Monethen or Mondyne on the Bervy and Kare; Robert I., the church of Kirkmacho in Nithsdale.

The abbey was *toll free*—that is, protected against the local impositions which of old beset all merchandise. It was also *custom free*, and passed its exports of wool, hides, tallow, and salmon, by virtue of its own cocket. But the privilege the abbot most valued was the tenure of all his lands *in free regality*—that is, with sovereign power over his people, and the unlimited emoluments of criminal jurisdiction. The abbey had a bailie of the regality, or justiciar chamberlain and bailie, which latterly became hereditary in the family of Airlie. The abbey had also a mair and coroner = the old Celtic "Dereth." The office of Judex, Doomster, or Dempster, was attached to the lands of Caraldston, and came into the hands of the Earls of Crawford.

Besides the high altar, dedicated to the patron, St. Thomas à Becket,

the abbey church had at least six others—viz. St. Catharine, St. Peter St. Lawrence, and St. Nicholas, all dedicated on one day, 26th August, 1485, by George de Brana, bishop of Dromore. The others were—Blessed Virgin Mary and St. James. The valuation of the abbey was £2873 + £273 for kirks of Abernethy and Monifieth—wheat, 34 chalders; bere, 155 chalders; meal, 211 chalders; oats, 27 chalders; salmon, 3 lasts, besides other services and smaller duties. The last abbot was Lord John Hamilton, second son of the Earl of Arran, governor of Scotland; he obtained the appointment c. 1541, got possession in 1551, and died 1604, aged seventy-one. His son James, marquis of Hamilton, was created Lord Aberbrothoc, 5th May, 1608.

5. Lindores Abbey, on Tayside, below Newburgh, dedicated to St. Mary and St. Andrew the apostle, was founded by David, earl of Huntingdon, brother of William the Lion, on return from the Holy Land, c. 1178. While Earl David provided the endowment, the chief director of works was Guido, the first abbot, who died in 1219 (as Fordun says), "after he had built the monastery itself from the foundation, and had in a great measure completed suitable out-houses, and had energetically governed the monastery for nearly twenty-eight years, leaving behind him twenty-six monks in full religious order, exhorting all the brotherhood to mutual love, and absolving them from their transgressions."

The founder, in a charter before 1198, gave to his abbey—the church Lindoris and all the lands belonging to it; the church of Dundee (St. Mary's) and everything pertaining to it; the churches of Fintray, Inverurie and Monkegie, Logie-Dornach, Premnay, Radmuriel, Inch, Culsalmond, and Kinnethmont (in his earldom of Garioch).

The bull of Pope Innocent III., 1198, mentions "the church of Mothel in Strathern," by which is meant, as shown in the detailed rental, not the parish church of Muthill, but only Easter Feddal, Wester Feddal, and Bennie, then part of Muthill, now of Ardoch. Wester Feddal was held under burden of conveying two horse-loads of herring from Glasgow to the abbey yearly. The same bull names Cuningrove and Wissinden in the bishopric of Lincoln—the former probably Cotgrave in Nottinghamshire, and the latter known to be Whisendine in Rutland.

Lindores itself included the modern farms of Grange of Lindores, Berryhill, Ormiston, Lindores, Lindores Abbey, Craigmill, and the burgh lands of Newburgh—a stretch of 4 miles by 2 of fine upland pasture and rich arable soil. The founder also gave Redinche (=reed inch), now Mugdrum Island, with the whole of the fishings around it, save "his own yhare at Colcrick." William the Lion gave a toft in each of the burghs of Berevic, Strivelin, Karel, Perth, Forfare, Munros, and Aberdene. Roger de Quincy, earl of Winchester and constable of Scotland, gave the monks the right of taking 200 cart-loads of brushwood or heather (*bruere*), and as many peats as they require from the peatery of Menegre, in the moor of Kindelouch, none else having right to peats there without their permission; also an acre of land to dry peats on and two acres for storage, with pasturage for ten ewes and two kye for the peat-man. This peatery survives in the names Ladybog and Ladybank, lady being St. Mary of Lindores. Between 1235 and 1264 Roger de Quincy also gave the church of Collessy, confirmed by the Pope, 13th December, 1288.

Sir David de Lindsay of Crawford, one of the barons who signed the famous letter to the Pope, 19th November, 1355, gave from his lands of Pethfour, near Cairnie, in St. Madoes, two merks yearly for a wax-light at his wife's tomb. Duncan, earl of Fife, in gratitude for his escape at the battle of Durham and deliverance from captivity, gave the church of Auchtermuchty "and the lands which have pertained to it of old." In 1490 the abbey endowed the altar of St. Blasius in St. John's at Perth; and in 1499 the abbot purchased the half of Pitcaithly. Pope Nicholas gave the monks a dispensation to wear bonnets (*De bonnetis utendis Bulla*) at certain parts of the divine worship and in processions, by reason of the great cold of the kingdom of Scotland. But at the reading of the Gospel and elevation of the Host there was no dispensation.

Under Abbot Henry (1502–1527) the abbey lands were erected into a regality of Lindores in 1510; and in 1621, when the days of sacrilegious dispersion had come, they fell to a lay proprietor, Lord Lindores. The abbey was destroyed by "Reformers" in 1559. The existence of two famous sorts of pears has been traced to the abbey gardens—viz. Bon Chretien and Bergamot. Our "geen" has the same monastic origin, being the French "guigne," while our Auchin pear is named from Aachen or Aix-la-Chapelle, and our Stirling Castle apple is a survival of the Cambuskenneth orchard.

The revenue in 1275 for purposes of taxation was valued at £1666. The valuation in 1561 was £2240—wheat, 11 chalders 12 bolls; bere and malt, 40 chalders 7 bolls; meal, 49 chalders 5 bolls; oats, 2 chalders 7 bolls, besides cain, customs, marts, carriages, and other duties. Two full rentals of Lindores, with notes of locality of great interest, one c. 1480 and the other 1561, are given in Laing's "Lindores Abbey and its Burgh of Newburgh," 410–466.

6. Icolmkill or Iona Abbey falls here to be dealt with only in the period after its foundation anew by Reginald, lord of the Isles (1166–1203); the history of the abbey from that date onward to 1506, when it was absorbed in the bishopric of The Isles, has already been given in the account of The Isles as one of the thirteen dioceses. Four documents from the Vatican, of dates, 1203, 1247, 1353, and 1372, are given in "Historians of Scotland," vol. vi. appendix v.

In 1226 Bishop Simon of The Isles was also abbot of Iona. The abbey was for centuries under Dunkeld. Between 1306 and 1329 Abbot Finlay received episcopal confirmation from Bishop Sinclair of Dunkeld; and in 1431 the abbot did obeisance (*fecit obedientiam manualem*) to Robert of Cardeny, bishop of Dunkeld. In favour of the last Abbot John the abbey was annexed to the bishopric in 1506.

Smaller Houses of the Tyronenses.

1. Dull in Perthshire, an old Culdee seat and abthane, associated with the name of St. Adamnan.

2. Fyvie Priory, on the Ythan in Buchan, was founded in 1179 by Fergus, earl of Buchan, and enlarged in 1285 by Reginald le Cheyne. It was a cell of Arbroath.

3. Inch Kenneth Priory, between Mull and Iona, was held by the monks of Iona.

4. Rothesay, St. Mary's, half a mile south of Rothesay, was also a cell of Iona.

III. Cluniacenses. Named from Cluny Abbey in Burgundy, near Maçon, where Abbot Berno of Gigni and Abbot Odo of Clugni, c. 912, *revived or reformed the Rule of St. Benedict.*

1. Paisley Abbey was founded in the first instance as a priory, and at Renfrew, on an Inch, in 1163 by Walter, son of Alan, the first of the royal house of Stewart. In 1220, through the influence of Alexander II., it was raised to an abbacy by Pope Honorius III. Pope Boniface issued a bull for exemption and protection of the abbey in time of war; but in 1307 it was, notwithstanding, attacked and burnt by Aymer de Valence. It had recovered again when, in 1327, Pope Benedict gave the privilege of the mitre and pontificals. A long line of gifts gradually enriched the monks of Paisley. Abbot Thomas Tarves, in 1451, visited England in quest of architectural hints. He is said, in the Auchinleck Chronicle, to have "fand the place all out of gude rewle and destitute of leving, and all the kirks in lords' hands and the kirk unbiggit. The body of the kirk fra the bucht stair up he biggit, and put up the ruf, and theckit it with sclat and riggit it with stane, and biggit ane great portioun of the steeple and ane stately yett-hous. . . . He brought all the place tae freedom, frae nocht tae ane michty place, and left it out of all kind o' debt." The two succeeding abbots, Henry Crichton (1459–1472) and George Schaw (1472–1498), continued the buildings, especially the latter, who in 1485 finished an orchard and garden wall of cut stone, above a mile in circumference.

There were only two abbots more, Robert Schaw (1498–1525), nephew of the preceding, and John Hamilton, afterwards archbishop of St. Andrews, hanged at Stirling in 1571.

The best list of churches belonging to the abbey occurs in a bull of Pope Clement IV. in 1265, those gifted in the original foundation charter being here in italics:—*Paisley*, Lochwynoc, *Innerwyc* (in East Lothian), *Katcart*, Rughglen, Curmanoc, Polloc, Merness, Neilston, Kylberhan, Hestwod, Howston, Kylhelan, Harskyn, Kylmacolm, Innerkyp, Largyss, *Prestwic burgh kirk*, the other *Prestwic* [monachorum] or Monkton, Cragyn, Turnebery, Dundonald, Schauher (St. Quivox), Hauchynlec, Kylpatrik, Neyt (Rosneath), Kyllynan (probably Kilfinan), Kylkeran (Campbeltown), St. Colmanel in Scybinche (Skipness), chapel of Kylmor at Kenlochgilpe. [Legerdwode in Berwickshire is omitted.]

The original dedication of the abbey was fivefold—to God, St. Mary, St. James, St. Mirin, and St. Myldburge or Milburga.

"The lands of the abbey were in Renfrew, Dunbarton, Ayrshire, Peebles, and Roxburgh. How they managed their Peeblesshire land of Orde we have almost nothing to tell us, but on their other properties they had granges—large farm-houses under the care of a *granger*, probably a lay brother. The chief grange was at Blackston on the Gryfe, 'in the lord abbot's hands for grange.' The 'Barns' of Kilpatrick were the head steading of the abbey on the other side of the Clyde, and the 'Place' of Muncton was the centre of management for their Ayrshire estates. The tenantry consisted of two classes—*cottars*, who paid from 10*s.* to 40*s.*

of rent and laboured on the monks' land; and *farmers*, who paid their rent chiefly in grain, and who cultivated their land with oxen and implements furnished by the abbot. The latter kind of holding is termed *steel bow*, and all the large farms seem to have been so let on lease."[1] In Boiamund's Roll of 1275 the abbey revenue is put at £2666; thus, in point of wealth, Paisley was next to Kelso, St. Andrews, Dunfermline, and Arbroath. At the "assumption of thirds," in 1561, the abbey rental was £2467—meal, 72 chalders 3 bolls; bere, 40 chalders 11 bolls; horse corne, 43 chalders 16 bolls; cheese, 500, five score and six stones. Abbot Hamilton in 1553 resigned in favour of his nephew, Claud Hamilton, aged ten, who in 1591 was made Lord Paisley, and was succeeded by his son, James, earl of Abercorn.

2. Cross Raguel Abbey, in parish of Turnberry or Kirkoswald, belonging to Paisley Abbey till 1244. The name Kirkoswald points to an older dedication to St. Oswald, king of Northumberland (died 643). The name Cross Raguel is variously explained as *Crux Regalis*, referring to King Oswald, or Crux St. Reguli or Riagail. The abbey was 2 miles from Maybole, founded by Duncan, first earl of Carrick, and dedicated to St. Mary. It held the churches of Kirkoswald, Straiton, Kirkcudbright, Girvan, Invertig, and Dailly. The ruins stand in the precinct or abbot's yard, and indicate an aisleless oblong church of 164 feet, ending in a five-sided apse. Abbot Macbrayar, who died in 1547, greatly extended and improved the buildings. The last abbot, Quentin Kennedy, in 1562 held a formal public disputation with John Knox at Maybole. He died in 1564, when a pension of £500 was given from the revenues to George Buchanan. The rest was given to Allan Stewart as commendator, who in 1570 was roasted before a fire by Gilbert, earl of Cassilis, nephew of Abbot Kennedy, until he signed a tack in the earl's favour. In 1275 the income was £533. In 1561 it was £466.

3. Fail Priory, 1252, on west side of Loch Fail, in the parish of Tarbolton, was a cell of Paisley.

4. Dalmulin, on north bank of the Ayr, was founded in 1229 by Walter the Stewart, for Gilbertines, but c. 1238 became a cell of Paisley.

IV. Cistertienses, Bernardines, or White Monks, were an order founded at Cistertium or Citeaux in 1096 *by Robert, abbot of Molesme, and in* 1116 *by St. Bernard of Clairvaux.*

1. Melrose Abbey, St. Mary's, was founded by David I. in 1136, the monks being brought from Rievaux in Yorkshire. There was an earlier monastery with a history of exceeding interest, dating from c. 650, associated with the names of St. Eata, St. Boisil, and St. Cuthbert, being a cell of St. Aidan's house at Lindisfarne, and planted at Old Melrose on a loop of the Tweed, 2½ miles eastward of the abbey site of 1136. It was doubtless reverence for this earlier monastery and its saintly inmates and missionaries that led David to choose the same locality for his new foundation. He granted to the monks and "their successors, for a perpetual possession, the lands of Melros, and the whole land of Eldune and the whole land of Dernwic . . . all the fruits and pasture and timber in my land, and

[1] Lees' "Abbey of Paisley," 161.

in the forest of Selkirk and Traquhair, and between Gala and Leadir Water, besides both the fishery on the Tweed everywhere, on their side of the river as on mine, and . . . in addition, the whole land and pasture of Galtunside." The abbey church was dedicated 28th July, 1146. Further gifts were made by Malcolm IV., by William the Lion, by Allan the king's steward, and by the De Morvilles. In 1322 the abbey was burnt by the English under Edward II. Robert I. made a grant of £2000 for rebuilding, and desired that his heart should be buried there. In 1385 it was burnt again by Richard II. In 1544 and 1545 it was pillaged and devastated, and the destroyers were chastised on their retreat at Ancrum Moor. The monks in 1530 numbered eighty, and ten years later seventy, with sixty lay brothers. The church had chapels of St. Ninian, St. Katharine, St. Thomas, St. Paul, St. Cuthbert, St. Peter, St. Kentigern, St. Stephen, and St. Bride.

The abbey held the churches of—Hassenden, Cavers (1358), Westerkirk, Ettrick, Dunscore, Ochiltree (1316), Mauchlin, and Tarbolton (1369). The monks held pastures in Lammermuir, Sorrowlessfield, Ploughgate, and Eskdale; they had an hospital for sick monks at Auldeniston; monk's tower at Hassenden, a hostel for poor pilgrims; and an abbot's town house in Strichen's Close, Edinburgh.

The rental was valued at £1758. At the dissolution the lands fell to James Douglas, and in 1619 to Thomas Hamilton, earl of Melrose.

2. NEWBOTLE ABBEY (name meaning *new dwelling*) was founded in 1140 by David I. "The situation is of that kind which the Cistertians most of all affected. The South Esk, escaped from the green hills of Temple and the woody ravines of Dalhousie, widens its valley a little to give room for a long range of fair level 'haughs.' At the very head of these meadows, and close to the brook, the abbey stands. Behind, to the north, are the remains of the ancient monkish village, once occupied by the hinds and shepherds of the convent, but separated from the abbey gardens by a massive stone wall, still called the 'Monkland Wall,' ascribed to the time and the personal care of William the Lion, which still forms the boundary of the park on that side. Across the little river the bank rises abruptly, broken into fantastic ravines, closely wooded, which only upon examination are discovered to be the remains of the ancient coal-workings of the monks, of a period when the operation was more a sort of quarrying than like modern coal-mining."[1]

The church, St. Mary's, was consecrated by the Bishop of Moray, 16th March, 1233, but burnt by Richard II. in 1385, and again by the Earl of Hertford, 15th May, 1544. Here Edward I. was born, 5th June, 1296, and here resided the Princess Margaret of England in 1503, from 3rd to 7th August, being visited daily by James IV. after their marriage contract had been signed at Lamberton church. The church of the abbey with its cemetery has been effectually obliterated; and it is beneath the flower plots or the smooth turf of the modern garden that Queen Mary de Couci, wife of Alexander II., rests, with Sir Alexander de Ramsay and Sir James of Douglas, both lords of Dalkeith and benefactors of the abbey, and many another lady and lord of Lothian. Though not one of the most richly endowed monasteries, that of Newbotle possessed great estates in

[1] Cosmo Innes, "Sketches," 125.

six counties—Edinburgh, Haddington, Linlithgow, Lanark, Peebles, and Stirling. Its churches were—Cockpen, Heriot, Bathgate, and Badermonoc or Monkland. The Lanarkshire possessions of the abbey, the gift of Malcolm IV., are still known as Old Monkland and New Monkland. The first charter trace of coal of Newbotle is in a gift of Seyer de Quinci, earl of Winchester (1210–1219), the half of the marsh which stretches to the burn of Whytrig on the east, and also the coalwork and quarry (*carbonarium et quarrarium*) between the said burn of Whytrig and the bounds of the lands of Pontekyn and Inveresch (Pinkie and Inveresk), and in the ebb and flow of the sea. Through this field in later times the monks carried galleries and conduits for the discharge of the water, not only of their own mines, but of that which impeded the working of their neighbours, the monks of Dunfermline, in their coal-field of Inveresk and Pinkie.

Philip de Everwel, the lord of Lynton and Romanno, gave the monks a right of pasture in Romanoch for 1000 sheep and 60 cattle and all their stud of mares. The abbey had special charters for right-of-way between the Monklands in Lanarkshire and Newbotle. The family of Melville, among others, gave a license to the monks "going and returning between Newbotle and the abbey lands in Clydesdale, of passing through their lands of Retrevyn, by the road which they had used in time past, with their cattle and carriages; and also of unyoking their beasts from their waggons, and pasturing in the pasturage of that land as often as they required, avoiding corn and meadow, and of passing the night there, once in going and once in returning." For this the monks were to pay yearly a new waggon, such as they manufactured for their own use in Clydesdale, laden with timber or building material of any kind. In palmy days the monastery had eighty monks and seventy converts. The revenue in 1561 was reported as £1413. Six aged monks had £240 paid in pensions at the suppression, when the lands were converted into a barony in 1597 for Mark Ker, lord Newbotle, for whom his father, the last commendator, secured the lands in 1587.

3. Dundrennan Abbey, St. Mary's, in the parish of Rerrick, and 5 miles from Kirkcudbright, 1½ mile from the Solway Firth, at Port Mary. It was founded in 1142 by Fergus, lord of Galloway. Its church was cruciform, 130×30 feet, with side aisles 15½ feet wide, transept 107×28 feet, choir 45×26 feet, and central tower and spire 200 feet high. Cloisters on south side of church were 108×104 feet, the monastic offices being still further south. The claims of Dundrennan to have been the last resting-place of Mary in her flight from Langside to England are contested by Hill Burton, who proves that she rode by Sanquhar to Terregles, the house of Lord Herries, where she spent three or four days.

It held the churches of Rerrick and Kirkmabreck. Its income was £500. The last abbot was Edward Maxwell, son of John, lord Herries. The lands fell to Robert Maxwell, son of Lord Herries. In 1606 John Murray became Lord Dundrennan. In 1621 it was annexed to the Chapel Royal of Stirling.

4. Kinloss or Kynflos Abbey, St. Mary, a quarter of a mile from the south-east corner of the estuary of the Findhorn, was founded by David I. in 1150, and confirmed by Pope Alexander III. to Reinerius, the second abbot.

The grants made by the founder were—in the parish of Alves or Awach, the lands of Kynlos and Inverlochty, and certain lands on the Massat. Malcolm IV. added a mill on the Massat with the adjoining "landella" of 2 acres, with a ploughgate of land in the "landella" of Burgyn or Burgy. William the Lion gifted the barony of Strathisla in Banffshire; the lands of Burgie lying on the north side of the king's highway from Forres to Elgin; the lands of the "prepositura" of Invereren and a toft in Eren; also tofts in his burghs of Inverness, Nairn, Forres, Elgin, and Aberdeen. Bishop William of Moray gave the church lands of Burgie. Walter Murdach and his wife Muriel, daughter of Peter de Pollock, gave part of the haugh of Dundurcus with the land and pasture set apart for them. Robert Corbet gave three oxgates of land of Lethenoth lying between the churches of Gamry and Troup. David, son of Duncan, earl of Fife, gave land of Belach or Balloch, on the west boundary of the barony of Strathisla. Robert I. gave all the fishings in the Findhorn, and the church of Ellon in Aberdeenshire. William, earl of Sutherland, 21st May, 1362, gave the hospital of St. John the Baptist, of Hebuisden or Helmdale, in the parish of Loth.

Kinloss had twenty-five abbots, an account of whom is given by Dr. Stuart.[1] Abbot Thomas Crystall, the twenty-third of these, and who died in 1535, increased the monks from fifteen to twenty. The most famous of the abbots was Robert Reid (1528–1558), who was from 1541 bishop of Orkney, whose book seal is given by Dr. Stuart (p. lv.), being a stag's head surmounted by a mitre, with motto "*moderatè*" underneath, and for surrounding inscription, "+ Robertus Reid, epus. Orchaden. et abbas. a. Kynlos. 1558." Abbot Reid founded an abbey library, and also brought from France a gardener who was expert in the planting and grafting of fruit trees, and who left tokens of his skill not only in the gardens of the abbey and the neighbourhood, but throughout the whole of Moray. Of him Ferrerius adds, that his only defect was the want of one of his feet, which he lost in a sea-fight with the Spaniards near Marseilles. Ferrerius, above quoted, was a learned Piedmontese whom Abbot Reid brought to Kinloss to teach philosophy, and who took so deep an interest in his work that he wrote lives of Crystall and Reid, which are reprinted by Dr. Stuart, besides some singularly interesting specimens of discourses by Adam Elder, a monk of Kinloss.

The monastery had altars—of the Dead, in a mortuary chapel, St. Jerome, St. Lawrence, St. Mary, St. Anne, St. Peter, Holy Cross, St. John Evangelist, St. Andrew, St. Thomas the Martyr, St. Bernard, and St. Mary Magdalene. In 1541-44 the church was decorated by paintings in distemper by a foreign artist, Andrew Bairtrum. A curious purchase by Abbot Crystall was that of eighty feather beds for the monks.

Walter Reid, the last abbot, subscribed the Protestant covenant of 1560, and alienated much of the abbey lands, marrying Margaret Collace of Balnamoon. In 1601 Edward Bruce, commendator, got a charter from the Crown, erecting a lordship and barony of Kinloss. A new erection was given to the same effect, 3rd May, 1608. In 1633 the family got the earldom of Elgin, and in 1643 the estate passed to Brodie of Lethen.

[1] "Records of the Monastery of Kinloss," pref. xxxix.–lvi., and 74, 75.

5. Deir Abbey, in Buchan, St. Mary's, on the left bank of South Ugie Water, in the parish of Old Deer, three-quarters of a mile from the village, was founded in 1218 by William Comyn, earl of Buchan, and colonized by three monks from Kinloss. At the dissolution the monks were fourteen. The abbey held the parishes of Foveran, Peterhead, and King Edward. The income was £875, besides rents in kind. Another valuation is £572. It was made into a barony of Altrie in favour of Robert Keith, son of the fourth Earl Marischal. In 1809, when the site was explored, the church was found to have been cruciform, 150 by from 27 to 38 feet, and 90 feet across the transept.

The earlier history of Deer, preceding the above foundation (and from which alone it is entitled to the name of *abbey* in the Celtic sense), is of deepest importance on account of its clearness. About 580 St. Columba and St. Drostan, his nephew, came from Iona to Aberdour and thence to another town, which pleased Columba, because it was full of God's grace; and he asked of the Mormaer Bede to give it him, and he would not. But his son falling sick, the Mormaer went to the clerics to ask a prayer of them, and gave them in offering the land from *Cloch in tiprat* to *Cloch pette mic Garnait*. They made the prayer and health returned. Then Columba gave Drostan that *Cathair*, and blessed it, and left as his word, "whosoever comes against it, let him not be many-yeared victorious." Drostan weeping as they parted, Columba said: "Let Dear (Tears) be its name henceforward." All this, and more, is in the Book of Deer, a Latin MS. of the ninth century, containing the Gospel of St. John and parts of the other three, the Apostles' Creed, and an office for the visitation of the sick. This precious MS., found in 1860 at Cambridge, was edited by Dr. Stuart and printed by the Spalding Club in 1869.

6. Cupar Abbey, in Angus, St. Mary's, was founded by Malcolm IV. on 12th July, 1164, in the centre of a military intrenchment, probably Roman. Part of the site is still occupied by the parish church.

The churches held by the abbey were—Alvah, in Banffshire; Airlie, Glenisla, and Meathie, in Forfarshire; Bendochy and Fossoway, in Perthshire, with the chapel of St. Mary of Inchmartin, in Errol. The abbey paid salaries to chaplains at St. Margaret's aisle in Forfar, Carsegrange, Errol, &c. Excepting those at Murthly in Aberdeenshire, and the church lands of Alveth in Banffshire, the abbey estates lay in the counties of Forfar and Perth. The principal lands (as named in the "Rental," in two vols., published by the Grampian Club in 1879) were those of Aberbothry, Arthurstone, Balgersho, Balbrogy, Balmyle, Carsegrange, Cupar Grange, Drummie, Denhead, Ennerwick in Atholl, Glenisla, Grange of Airlie, Glentulach, Keithock, Little Perth, Mylnehorn, Murthly, Persie, Pitlochry, and Tullyfergus.

In the original endowment by two charters given at Traquair, Malcolm IV. granted to the abbey all his lands at Cupar, and coal and certain other privileges in the royal forests. William the Lion gave, as a site for the abbey, half a carucate of land (=50 acres), also the king's chase and some waste land, besides (for endowment) the lands of Aberbothry and Keithock; the lands of Parthesin or Persie with a certain reservation; two ploughgates of land in Rethrife or Rattray, and the marsh of Blair or Blairgowrie. William of Hay gave the lands of Ederpoles or Lederpoles c. 1170. His

son, Sir David Hay, gave a net's fishing on the Tay, between Lornie and the hermitage of Gillemichel. Nicholas of Hay gave a bovate of land in Carse of Gowrie, previously held by Roger, son of Baudrice. John de Hay of Adnachtan gave one yare on the Tay, and a toft in Adnachtan. Richard de la Battel (a squire of the Hays) gave the land lying between Ederpoles and Inchmartin. Stephen of Blair, son of Vallenus, gave the lands of Ledcassy. Alexander II., in 1234, granted the monks three charters, confirming the lands of Glenisla, Belacktyn, Frenchy, Cragnethan, Inverquharity, Fortuhy, and others, to be held in free forest. The family of Atholl, Sir William Oliphant, Sir William Montealt or Mowat, William of Montefixo or Muschet, Sir Hugh Abernethy, Michael of Meigle, Sir John of Inchmartin, Sir Gilbert Hay, and several others, were benefactors.

The abbot had two country seats, the chief at Campsie, 3 miles south-west of the abbey, and the other at Cupar Grange, north of the Isla, and 2 miles from the abbey. At the crag of Campsie, in parish of Cargill, was St. Hunnand's or Adamnan's chapel. The "Register of Cupar" (i. 1–117) has an account of the succession of abbots. In 1561 the rental was set down as £1238—wheat, 7 chalders 12 bolls; bere, 75 chalders 10 bolls; meal, 73 chalders 4 bolls; and oats, 25 chalders 4 bolls. But before this date five estates had been alienated by Abbot Donald Campbell, youngest son of Archibald, second earl of Argyll, to his sons. In 1606 the lands were made a lordship for James Elphinstone, as Baron Cupar, second son of the first Lord Balmerino.

7. Glenluce Abbey, or *Vallis Lucis*, St. Mary's, in Galloway, on the left bank of Luce Water, 1½ mile north-west of the village, was founded in 1190 by Roland de Galloway, constable of Scotland, and colonized from Melrose. It covered more than an acre of ground, and had a garden and orchard of 9 Scots acres, now the glebe of Old Luce. In 1235 the abbey was plundered by the soldiers of Alexander II. In 1507, when James IV. with Margaret his queen, was returning from a pilgrimage to Whithorn, he lay a night at Glenluce, and gave the gardener 4*s*., marked in the Lord Treasurer's accounts. Thomas Hay, of the Hays of Park, was in 1560, by papal bull, made commendator; the revenue of £666 being, in 1575, leased to Gilbert, fourth earl of Cassilis, infamous for his roasting of the abbot of Crossraguel, and also for villany in forging the signature of the last abbot of Glenluce by means of a monk, when the earl engaged a "carle," Carnochan, to stab the monk, and next engaged his uncle to hang Carnochan, all to cover the forgery, and "sa had conqueist the lands of Glenluce." How many a crime and family curse the sacrilegious plunder of church lands occasioned all over Scotland! In 1602 the lands were made a barony in favour of Lawrence Gordon, second son of the Bishop of Galloway. After several other changes they came into the hands of Sir James Dalrymple, Viscount Stair and Lord Glenluce and Stranraer.

8. Culross Abbey, St. Mary, St. Andrew, and St. Serf, was founded in 1217 by Malcolm, earl of Fife, who was buried here in 1229. The first monks came from Kinloss, March 12, 1229. The foundation of 1217, as in so many other cases, was simply the reviving or remodelling, with fresh endowments, of an older Celtic monastery associated with St. Servanus alone, whose church, according to Dr. Skene, dated from c. 700. The Earls of Argyll were hereditary bailies of the abbey, the last abbot being

murdered in 1530. The abbey, besides certain lands, held the church of Tullibole. The revenue was £768. In 1609 Robert Colville, brother of the last commendator, was made Lord Colville of Culross. The 1st of July, St. Serf's day, was for centuries (until lately) a day of processions, games, and merry-making.

9. Balmerinach Abbey, dedicated to St. Mary and St. Edward the Confessor, was founded in 1227 by Ermengarda, William the Lion's widowed queen, who, six years later, was buried before the high altar of its cruciform church. It was colonized from Melrose on St. Lucy's day, 1228. The abbey stood on a height behind the village, commanding a fine view of the Firth of Tay and the Carse of Gowrie, as far as the opening of Strathearn. The edifice was Second Pointed, 240 by 140 feet, and (corresponding to the duplicate dedication) parted by eight octangular piers into two parallel aisles. It is now a ruin, having been burned by the English in 1548, and sacked by Reformers in 1559. It held the churches of Balmerino and Barrie, with fishings on the Tay. Its lands were erected into a barony for Sir James Elphinstone, lord Balmerino, in 1604. Verifying the usual curse on the sacrilegious land-grabbers of that age, the two first lords were sentenced to death, and the sixth and last was beheaded on Tower Hill for his share in the '45.

10. Sweetheart Abbey, or New Abbey, in Kirkcudbrightshire, 7 miles south from Dumfries, at the foot of Criffel, was dedicated to St. Mary, and founded in 1275 by Devergoil or Devorgilla (who also founded Baliol College, Oxford, and built the old bridge of Dumfries). Devorgilla was third daughter of Alan, lord of Galloway, great-granddaughter of David I., and mother of the vassal-king John Baliol. Her husband, John de Baliol, died in 1269 at Barnard Castle, where he was buried, except his heart, which, shrined in ivory and silver, the devoted woman retained beside her even at meals, latterly placed near the high altar, and finally it was deposited on her own heart in the tomb—hence the name of the abbey, *Dulce Cor* or Sweetheart, and *New* Abbey, to distinguish it from Dundrennan, founded 130 years earlier, and popularly known as the Old Abbey.

The abbey held the churches of Lochkinder, now New Abbey (in which parish it was situated), Kirkpatrick-Durham, Crossmichael, Buittle, and Kirkcolm, with the baronies of Lochkinderloch and Lochpatrick, besides other property. The income was £682. The lands were made a lordship in 1624 for Sir Robert Spottiswood, lord Newabbey.

The two last abbots were John, who sat in the Parliament of 1560, which approved the Confession of Faith, and Gilbert Brown, who had a written controversy with John Welsh of Kirkcudbright, later of Ayr. Abbot Brown, banished in 1605 from Scotland, died in 1612 in Paris, as Provost of the Scots College.

Smaller Houses of the Cistertians.

1. Sagadul or Saddel Abbey, founded 1150; in Kintyre, opposite Arran.
2. Friars Carse Priory, near Dumfries. Cell of Melrose.
3. Hassendean Priory, west of Hawick. Cell of Melrose.
4. Mauchlyn Priory, 1165; in Ayrshire. Cell of Melrose.
5. Cadvan, in Dunbog. Cell of Balmerino.

6. Holm Cultram, Holme or Harehope; in Cumberland, 12 miles from Carlisle, by Henry, earl of Huntingdon, 1150. The monks were sent from Melrose by St. Waltheof, under his friend Everard, who became the first abbot.

V. Order of Vallis Caulium, or Val de Choux, in Burgundy; founded there in 1193. *Introduced in* 1230 *to Scotland by Bishop Malvoisin of St. Andrews. An order of ascetics.*

1. Pluscardine Priory, St. Mary, St. John Baptist, and St. Andrew, was founded in 1230 by Alexander II., and called Monasterium Vallis St. Andreæ. The monks being ascetics, only the prior and the procurator were allowed to go beyond the precinct. The ruins, well-cared for, stand in a valley, sheltered by hills and pine woods, on the north side of the Lossie, 4 miles south-west from Elgin. The old orchard still bears fruit.

The priory possessed the whole valley of Pluscarden, 3 miles in length, in the parish of Elgin; the lands of Old Mills, near Elgin; lands in Durris; lands of Grangehill, now Dalvey, where was a grange and cell of monks; a fishing on the Spey, given by Robert I. The walls of the precinct remain nearly square, with the church in the centre, choir 56 by 27 feet, transept 92 feet across. There were chapels and altars—of the Dead, St. Jerome, St. Lawrence, St. Mary, St. Ann, St. Peter, Holy Cross, St. John Evangelist, St. Andrew, St. Thomas, St. Bernan, St. Mary Magdalene.

In Boiamund's Roll of 1274 it was taxed at £533, while Beauly and Ardchattan were at £200. In 1454 the Cistertian Vallis Caulians were superseded by Benedictines brought from Urquhart, so that then Pluscarden became a cell of Dunfermline. Sir Alexander Seaton, earl of Dunfermline, was made commendator of Pluscarden in 1565. The Book of Pluscarden, founded mainly on Bower's "Scotichronicon," and compiled in the priory in 1461, probably by Maurice Buchanan, forms vols. ix. and x. of "The Historians of Scotland."

2. Beauly Priory (*Bellus Locus, Beaulieu*), St. John Baptist, in the parish of Kilmorack, was founded by Sir John Bisset of Lovat, in 1232, for seven French monks. (The church, aisleless, was 136 by 21 feet.) It held the churches of Abertarf, Kintallirgy, with chapel of St. Laurence at Conveth, and kirk of Cumer or Comer. The last prior granted the lands in 1558 to the sixth Lord Lovat, but they were forfeited in 1715.

The oldest possessions of the priory were Fitheney, Karcurri, and the fishing of the Forne. William Bisset, brother of the founder, between 1230 and 1242 gave the church of Abertarf; said church in teinds, churchlands and tithe of salmon fishings in parish, being confirmed by Bishop Andrew de Moravia. In 1255 Laurence, *miles*, son of Patrick, *janitor*, of Inverness, gave all he had in Bromihalw and in the island. Between 1275 and 1294 David of Innerlunan gave Ouchterwaddale, extending to half a davach. In 1280 Cecilia Byseth gave her third part of Altyr.

3. Ardchattan Priory, founded in 1231, in Lorn, near Connel Ferry. This priory succeeded an older church of St. Modan, called Kilbodan, in Benderloch. The priory church was 66 by 29 feet. Between the priory and the hill is a pasture called "the monk's garden." For charters and values see "Orig. Par." (II. i., 153), where the whole valued rent amounts to £1400 Scots.

VI. Carthusians, or Christ's Poor, a recluse order founded in 1086 *by St. Bruno at Chartreuse in Grenoble. Solitude and silence were their rule; but they were hospitable and charitable, and withal, better educated than the Mendicants.*

1. Perth, Cartuss (*Monasterium Vallis Virtutis*), founded in 1429 by James I. and his queen, for thirteen monks, was wrecked in 1559 by Knox's "rascal multitude." In 1563 the revenue was returned as £509—wheat, 8 chalders 5 bolls; bere, 20 chalders; meal, 2 bolls; white oats, 12 chalders 6 bolls; black oats, 12 chalders 9 bolls. A full account of this monastery is given in Fittis' "Ecclesiastical Annals of Perth," 213-264.

2. Makerstone, in Roxburghshire.

VII. Præmonstratenses or White Friars, from Præmonstratum or Præmontrè in Laon, France, held the rule of St. Augustine, and were established by St. Norbert of Magdeburg in 1120.

1. Saulseat Abbey (*Sedes Animarum*, or *Monasterium Viridis Stagni*), dedicated to St. Mary and St. John Evangelist, near Stranraer, in the parish of Inch, was founded in 1148 by Fergus, lord of Galloway, afterwards canon of Holyrood in 1160. It was the first establishment of Premonstratensians in Scotland, the mother of Whithorn and Holywood. Its abbot was appointed by the king, uncontrolled by the Pope. In 1568 the abbot of Saulseat, with some other leading men, subscribed a bond to defend Queen Mary.

The abbey held the churches of Saulseat (afterwards joined to Inch) and Kirkmaiden. After the Reformation the abbey revenues went to the parishes of Kirkmaiden, Saulseat, and Portpatrick, before 1628 called "The Black Quarter of the Inch." The revenue in 1562 was £343—meal, 13 chalders 4 bolls; bere, 7 chalders 8 bolls; capons, 13½ dozen; oats, 6 chalders.

2. Holywood Abbey (*Sacrum Nemus* or Dercongall), St. Mary's, 5 miles north-west of Dumfries, was founded in 1180 by John Maxwell, lord of Kirkconnel. It held the churches and church-lands of Holywood, Dunscore, Penpont, Tynron, and Kirkconnel, and exercised jurisdiction over many lands in Nithsdale and East Galloway. Joannes de Sacro Bosco was a monk here in 1221. The last abbot, Thomas Campbell, gave help to Queen Mary after her escape from Lochleven, and incurred forfeiture, in 1568. In 1618 it was made a barony for John Murray of Lochmaben. The value in 1544 was £700 (reduced in 1561 to £425)—meal, 19 chalders 14 bolls; bere, 9 chalders 3 bolls; malt, 1 chalder.

3. Whithorn Priory, St. Ninian's, was founded in the reign of David I. (1124–1153) by Fergus, lord of Galloway, when the priory church served as the cathedral of the diocese of Galloway. The monks formed the dean and chapter of the cathedral, and were so closely associated with it that the account already given of the diocese supplies what is needed for the priory as well. The two most famous priors were Gavin Dunbar, in 1514, who became archbishop of Glasgow, and James Beaton, who became archbishop of Glasgow and also of St. Andrews. In 1513 the old Earl of Angus, Archibald "Bell the Cat," retired to this priory and died the following year. In 1561 the value was £1016—bere, 15 chalders 14

bolls; meal, 51 chalders 15 bolls. In 1606 it was annexed to the revenues of the see of Galloway.

4. Tongland Abbey, on a tongue of land at the meeting of the Dee and Tarf, in south Kirkcudbrightshire, was founded by Fergus, lord of Galloway, c. 1150, for canons from Cockersand in Lancashire. In 1325, during the insurrection after the death of Alan and the rout of the Irish invaders, the enraged Galloway men slew the abbot and sacrist in the church because they were foreigners and had sworn allegiance to Edward I. Prior Herries repaired the buildings and built the precinct wall in 1430.

The last abbot, Damian, satirized by Dunbar, was an Italian alchemist, who in 1507, in the reign of James IV., essayed to fly from Stirling Castle to France. He fell into a "midden" and broke his thigh-bone—a fiasco which he ascribed to the blending in his pinions of a dunghill cock's plumes with eagles' feathers. The abbey held the churches of Balnacross, Senwick in Borgue, Troqueer (Balnacross given by Robert I., and Senwick by David II.) In 1516 Tungland was given to David Arnot, bishop of Galloway, and was attached to that see till the Reformation. William Melvil, a lord of Session in 1587, was made commendator by James VI., and in 1588 got a pension of £616 from the revenues; he died in 1613. The value was £206.

5. Dryburgh Abbey, St. Mary's, 3 miles below Melrose and 10 miles above Kelso, was founded in 1150 by Hugh de Morville, constable of Scotland, and his wife, Beatrice de Beauchamp. The cemetery was consecrated on St. Martin's day, 1150, "that no demons might haunt it," and the monks came on 30th December, 1152, from Alnwick. They wore a coarse black cassock covered by a white woollen cope. In 1208 the *new* cemetery was consecrated by Bishop Malvoisin of St. Andrews.

Churches held by Dryburgh were—Maxton, given by Walter Stewart, father of Robert II., but surrendered for an exchange in 1200 to Sir Hugh de Normanville; Kilrenny, with half carucate of Pitcorthy and toft in Crail, by Ada, mother of Malcolm IV.; Merton, before 1221 confirmed by Pope Honorius III.; Caddisley chapel and St. Leonard chapel (in Lauder parish), both west of the Leader, by David I.; Lauder, by John Baliol and his wife, Devorgilla, for six mass chaplains; Channelkirk, by Hugh de Morville; Sawelton or Salton, by the same; Pencaithland, by Lady Catharine Stewart of Cardross, before 1376; Golyn or Gulane, by Sir William de Wallibus, for two mass canons; Lessudden, with tofts, orchard, and meadow, by Richard de Laudonia, before 1252; St. Mary in Ettrick Forest, in time of David II.; St. Kentigern at Lanark, with chapel of Glegern or Cleghorn, by David I.; Pedynane or Pettinain with grange of Imbirston, by the same; Nemphlar (chapel of Lanark) and Carteland, with tithes of all his cattle there, by the same; Sowerby or Sorby in Wigtown, with church land by Robert de Veteriponte, for which, in 1280, the prior and convent of Candida Casa gave a money payment of 20 merks; Worgis or Borgue, in Kirkcudbrightshire, by Hugh de Morville; Bosjeth, by his wife Beatrix; Sembry, by Walter, bishop of Galloway, +1335; Vogrie, by Bishop Gilbert, his successor.

Of the chief other possessions of Dryburgh, Peter de Haga gave two oxgangs in Bemersyde with messuage and garden, pasture for three cows and twenty sheep, and part of his forest of Flatwood. Roger de

Quinci gave the fishing of the lake of Merton. Alexander de Baliol of Cavers gave half the wood of Gladiswood, with half of the Woodhead in feu for 40*s.* annually. Helias gave, at his village of Brotherstansyde, pasture for 100 sheep, 8 oxen, 4 cows, and 2 horses, besides 6 acres arable. Thomas of Brotherstane gave 6 acres, with pasture for 80 sheep, 4 oxen, and 1 horse. Simon de Wardrobe gave 18 acres. David Olifard gave a ploughgate and pasture for 300 sheep in Smalham. Robert III. in 1390, on suppressing the dissolute nunnery at South Berwick, gave their lands to Dryburgh. Sir Adam of Gordon gave a peatery. Patrick, earl of Dunbar, gave two oxgangs in Ercildon, a toft and croft, and pasture for 100 sheep, 12 oxen, 12 swine, and 2 horses, with easements; also Hunter's Land, with pasture for 300 sheep, 4 oxen, and 4 cows. Many further like gifts are named in Gordon's "Monasticon," filling seven pages (327-334), following which is a list of abbots (334-345).

In 1183 Pope Lucius III. granted permission to the canons of Dryburgh, whenever the kingdom should be under a general interdict, to celebrate divine service in their church in a low voice, with the doors shut, and without ringing of bells—all excommunicated and interdicted persons being shut out. In 1332, when the army of Edward II. was on its retreat, the monks rang their bells for joy, but the soldiers returned and burnt the abbey in revenge. Again, in 1385, it was burnt by Richard II.; and yet again, in 1544, by Sir George Bowes and Sir Brian Layton. A special feature of the abbey was a chapel of St. Modan, commemorative of an earlier Celtic church on the same spot. St. Mary's Aisle, the north aisle of the choir, on 26th September, 1832, furnished a fitting grave to Sir Walter Scott. The refectory was 100 feet long, 30 broad, and 60 high. The cloister to the north of the refectory was 100 feet square, and is now a flower garden.

The value was £912—wheat, 1 chalder 14 bolls; meal, 22 chalders 15 bolls; bere, 24 chalders 7 bolls; oats, 3 chalders 15 bolls. In 1604 Dryburgh, with Inchmahome and Cambuskenneth, was made a barony of Cardross for John, earl of Mar.

6. Fearn Abbey in Ross, founded in 1227 by Ferquhard, earl of Ross. Abbot Patrick Hamilton was burnt at St. Andrews in 1527.

VIII. Benedictines or Black Monks, from St. Benedict of Monte Cassino. They were of a literary and active disposition.

1. Coldingham Priory, St. Cuthbert, St. Ebba, and St. Mary, 2 miles from Eyemouth in Berwickshire, was founded in 1098 by King Edgar, and given to Durham. In 1485 James III. tried to suppress it, and give half its revenues to his new Chapel Royal at Stirling, and the other half to endow a collegiate church at Coldingham; but this rash scheme, through resistance of the Homes, hereditary bailiffs of the priory, cost the king his life at Sauchieburn, 11th June, 1488. From 1509–60 it was under Dunfermline. As happened in so many cases, King Edgar's foundation in 1098 was on an older Christian settlement of nuns which had existed from 660, associated with St. Ebba, who was visited by St. Cuthbert. The nunnery became corrupt, and decayed.

The churches held by the priory were—Edrom, granted by Cospatrick,

earl of Dunbar, confirmed by David I., 1139; Holy Trinity at Berwick, by Bishop Bec, 1282–1309; Fishwick and Swinton, confirmed by Bishop Robert of St. Andrews, 1250; Ednam (with chapels of Newton, Nenthorn, and Nesbit), founded by the Saxon, Thor Longus; Earlston or Ersildun, c. 1150, by Walter de Lindsay to Kelso, but in 1171 exchanged for Gordon in Berwickshire, and St. Laurencekirk in Berwick; chapel of Stitchel; Smalham or Smailham, by Walter Olifard, justiciary of Lothian (+ 1242); Ayton; Lamberton; and Aldcambus.

The original grants made by King Edgar at the altar were—the whole village of Swinton, according to the same boundaries by which the Saxon Liulf held it; twenty-four beasts for recultivating the land of Swinton; that the inhabitants of Coldinghamshire pay to the monks a yearly tribute of half a merk of silver for every carucate of land; Paxton, with the men, lands, and waters, and territory between Cnapdean and Horndean; also the mansions or villages of Aldcambus, Lumsdean, Renton, Reston, Swinewood, two places called Eiton or Ayton, Prenderguest, Farndun, and Cramesmuthe, with their lands, woods, waters, tolls, wrecks of ships, and all dues belonging to them.

Bishop Robert of St. Andrews in 1127 gave a charter of freedom from custom, can, or cuneved, and all services to him and his successors, and declared Coldingham more exempt from all episcopal aids than any other abbey church in Lothian. William the Lion gave the keeping of his woods of Reston, Brockholewood, Akeside, Kirkdeanwood, Harewood, Deanwood, Swinewood, and Houndwood, prohibiting all hunting without permission of the monks.

David, baron of Quixwood, in Abbey St. Bathans, gave 26 acres of land adjacent to the leper hospital of Aldcambus, together with a wood on the muir of Aldcambus. Robert I. by charter at Newbottle, 26th December, 1328, gave the privilege of five stags yearly from Selkirk Forest, for the monks to celebrate the feast of the translation of St. Cuthbert, 4th September.

In 1406 the monks made Archibald, earl Douglas, keeper of their possessions with a pension of £100, who appointed Sir Alexander Home of Dunglass as his bailiff at £20. Sir David Hume of Wedderburn was bailiff in 1441. In 1465 Alexander, lord Home, became hereditary bailiff.

The value of the priory was £818—wheat, 6 chalders 7 bolls; bere, 19 chalders 12 bolls; oats, 66 chalders 8 bolls; pease, 3 chalders 18 bolls. In 1606 it was made a lordship for Alexander Home of Maunderston.

2. Dunfermline Abbey (*Fermelodunum, De Monte Infermorum*), Holy Trinity and St. Margaret, founded by Malcolm III., completed by Alexander I. David I. in 1124 brought thirteen monks from Canterbury. Between 1244 and 1250 the Norman choir was rebuilt, when took place the translation of St. Margaret, *i.e.* removal of her body and shrine from the old high altar to the new one—Queen Margaret having been canonized in 1249, and the abbot mitred in 1244. The churches held by the abbey were—Abercrombie, Caldor Comitis, Cousland in Cranston, Dunipace, Kinel, St. Giles' (Edinburgh), Glenin, Hailes or Colinton, Inveresk, Inverkeithing, Kellin or Carnbee, Kinross, Kinghorn or Burntisland, Kirkcaldy, Kinglassie, Melville or Lasswade, Dalkeith, Marlin (?), Newlands, Newton, Newburn, St. James' (North Queensferry), Orwell; St. John's, St. Leonard's, and

Castle Chapel (Perth); Stirling Castle Chapel, Strathardle or Kirkmichael, Wymet, Newton.

Properties in Dunfermline district which paid teinds to the abbey, as given in in 1561, were—Baudrick (middle), Hoill, Blacklaw, Cavil, Craigluscar, Clune, Craigduckie (east and west), Galrick, Gask, Grassmuirland, Knockhouse, Knock, Legattisbrig, Limekilns, Logie, Lathalmond, Dunduff, Drumtuthil, Gellets, Luscar (east and west), Millhills (north and south), Mortlandbank, Middlebaldridge, Meldrum's Mill, Newlands, Outh, North Queensferry, Pitliver, Pitreavie, Pitfirrane, Pittencrieff, Pitbauchlie, Pitconnochie, Randel's Craigs, Roscobie, St. Margaret's Stone, Zouchmill, Tinnygask, Fod, Breryhill (north and south), Halbank, Luscar (east and west), Pitdennis, Carnock, Kinnedar, Bandrum, Saline, Lassodie, Cocklaw, Lathangy, Arlay, Spittalfield, near Inverkeithing.

The abbey had right to the whole wood needed for fuel and building within its jurisdiction; every seventh seal caught at Kinghorn; one-half of the fat of whales caught or stranded in the Forth; a ship exempted from all customs; custom dues of all vessels entering the harbour of Inveresk; besides houses, lands, annuities, salt-pans, quarry, coal-pit, skins and fat of beasts killed at feasts at Stirling. Valuation in 1560 was £2513:—wheat, 28 chalders 11 bolls; bere, 102 chalders 15 bolls; meal, 15 chalders; oats, 61 chalders 6 bolls; horse corn, 29 chalders 1 boll; butter, 34 stones; lime, 19 chalders 15 bolls; salt, 11 chalders 8 bolls; capons, 374; poultry, 746. At the dissolution there were twenty-six monks. Abbot's Hall and Pinkie House were residences of the abbot. The lands were given to Secretary Pitcairn, then to the Master of Gray, finally to Alexander Seton, earl of Dunfermline, 1605.

3. Urquhart Priory, Holy Trinity, near Elgin, was a cell belonging to Dunfermline, founded in 1124 by David I. The priory held the churches of Urquhart, St. Margaret, Bellie, and Dalcross.

A charter by Robert Keldelecht, abbot of Dunfermline (1240-1252), gives the lands of Kildun, near Dingwall, to Richard of Moray and his heirs, for an annual payment on St. John's day in our cell of Urchard. The kirk land of Durris belonged to Urquhart. The south and east parts of the parish of Urquhart were made a lordship for Alexander Seton, baron of Urquhart, in 1591, afterwards Earl of Dunfermline. Urquhart (c. 1345) fell into disorder, and by direction of the Pope was joined to Pluscardine. No rental return was made in 1563. The site is marked by the "Abbey Well."

IX. *Trinity Friars, Trinitarians, Red Friars, Mathurines, Crossed or Crutched Friars, and Fratres Cruciati*, are various names of an order whose houses were called *hospitals* and their superior *minister*. Their office was to redeem slaves, especially Christians, from the Turks. Instituted in 1198 by St. John of Malta, and received in England in 1357 as the Order of Ingham.

1. Aberdeen, 1211. Site of Trinity Church. Destroyed, December 8, 1559, by party of reform.

2. Dunbar, 1218. Patrick, fifth earl of Dunbar. "Friars' Croft" marks the site.

3. Houston, 1226. In Renfrewshire.

4. Scotlandwell, 1250. Kinross-shire, on north side of the Leven. Two churches.

5. Failford, 1252. Tarbolton, Ayrshire. Founded by Andrew Bruce; cast down in 1561 by Lords of Council. It held the parishes of Barnweil, Symington, and Galston, in Kyle; Torthorwald, in Dumfriesshire, and Inverchaolin, in Argyllshire.

6. Peebles, St. Nicholas, Church of Holy Cross, 1257. By Alexander III.

7. Dornock, 1271. In Sutherlandshire. By Sir Patrick Murray. Destroyed 1570.

8. Berwick-on-Tweed, 1214. At the Bridge.

9. Dundee, 1283. At foot of South Tay Street. By Sir James Lindsay of Glenesk.

10. Cromarty, 1271. By Sir Patrick Murray.

11. Brechin, 1260. Between the Bishop's Palace and Brechin Castle.

12. Luffness, 1286, at Aberlady. By Earl of Dunbar.

13. Dunet in Buchan, founded in1297 by Alexander, third earl of Buchan.

14. Soltre, Holy Trinity, on Soutrahill, seventeen miles south-east of Edinburgh, founded 1164 by Malcolm IV. "Soutra Aisle" survives. It held the churches of Ormiston in East Lothian, Strathmartin in Forfarshire, Lympetlaw in Sprouston (given by Richard Germyne), and Wemyss in Fife (given by John of Methkill). Soltre was annexed to Trinity College by Mary of Gueldres in 1462.

Friars or Mendicants.

I. Carmelites or White Friars, from 1126.

Aberdeen, St. Mary and St. John, 1350. Philip de Arbuthnot.
Banff, St. Mary. Before 1300.
Berwick, c. 1250.
Dunbar, 1263. Patrick, seventh earl of March. Site near the town.
Edinburgh, Holy Cross, Greenside, 1526. A lazar in 1591.
Inverbervie, Kincardineshire. "Friars Dubbs."
Irvine, St. Mary. Laird of Fullarton. Fourteenth century.
Linlithgow, St. Mary, 1290. South side of town at Friars Well.
Luffness at Aberlady. Confirmed by David II. Luffness was the port of Haddington.
Queensferry, St. Mary, 1330. Laird of Dundas. Still well preserved.
Roxburgh, 1513.
Tylilum, St. Mary. Perth, 1262. Site now called Dovecotland.

II. Dominican, Black or Preaching Friars.

Aberdeen, site of Grammar School. Alexander II.
Ayr, St. Catharine's, 1230. By Alexander II. In Friars Vennel.
Berwick, 1230. Alexander II.
Cupar, in Fife, St. Mary's. Foot of Castle Hill. Was founded by an Earl of Fife, and annexed by James V. to St. Andrews.
Dundee. Andrew Abercromby, burgess.
Dysart, St. Denis. A fragment still stands.
Edinburgh, St. Mary's. Blackfriars Wynd, 1230.

Elgin, 1233. Alexander II.
Glasgow, St. Mary's, 1244. Church destroyed by lightning, 1668. Rebuilt in 1699, and known as College Church or Blackfriars.
Haddington.
Inverness, 1233. Alexander II.
Linlithgow. East side of town.
Montrose, 1230. Sir Alan Durward.
Perth, St. John and St. James, 1236. North side of town.
St. Andrews, 1274. In South Street. Bishop Wishart. The property transmitted from Lord Seton became the Madras School.
St. Monace, Fife, c. 1370. By Sir Alan Durward. David II. founded the church, 1332.
St. Ninian's, near Stirling. Friars Wynd.
Wigtown Priory, 1264. South-east of town. Devorgilla.

III. Franciscans, Minorites or Grey Friars, from 1231.

(A.) *Conventuals or Recollects.*

Berwick, 1235.
Douglas.
Dumfries, 1300. Devorgilla. In Friars Vennel. Church pulled down after Comyn's murder in it in 1305, and rebuilt in south-east as St. Michael's
Dundee, 1292. On the Howff.
Haddington, St. Duthac's. Alexander II.
Innerkethyn, St. Columba's, 1234. Near the "Inns" or palace where Annabella Drummond, widow of Robert III., died.
Roxburgh, St. Peter's, 1235.

(B.) *Observantines* (more strict, with bare feet and shirtless).

Aberdeen, St. Mary's, 1450. Destroyed 1560 by Barons of Mearns; but its church partly survives as Greyfriars or College Church.
Aberdour, 1450.
Ayr, 1472. By the inhabitants of Ayr. "Friars Well" on the site of present old church.
Banff, St. John Evangelist.
Edinburgh, south side of Grassmarket. James I.
Elgin, 1479. John Innes. South side of city.
Glasgow, Greyfriars Wynd, 1476. By Bishop Laing. Earlier grants in 1322.
Jedburgh, 1513. The citizens.
Kirkcudbright. Founded in first half of thirteenth century. In 1564 Queen Mary gave the friary church to be a parish church. The lands were given to Sir Thomas Maclellan of Bombie.
Lanark, St. Kentigern, 1314. By Robert I. "Friars Yard."
Perth, 1460. South-east of town. Lord Oliphant. Destroyed by mob, 11th May, 1559.
St. Andrews, 144–. In Market Street. Bishop Kennedy and Bishop Graham. Property given by Queen Mary to the town.
Stirling, St. Modan, 1494. James IV.

IV. Friars of St. Anthony of Vienne.

South Leith, 1435. Sir Robert Logan of Restalrig. Had St. Anthony's hermitage and chapel at Arthur's Seat. Changed into St. James's Hospital in 1614.

V. Hospitallers, or Knights of St. John of Jerusalem and Malta. A charitable order serving the sick.

Ancrum Preceptory. Ruins known as "Maltan Walls."

St. John's Hill, near Edinburgh.

Kinkell or Tella. Preceptory dissolved 1494, and given to Marischal College.

Ruthwell, Preceptory at Kirkstyle. Chapel, cemetery, and ample lands.

Torphichen, 1153. David I. Had seven churches. A garth or sanctuary. Made into a barony in 1564 for Sir James Sandilands, the last preceptor.

St. Andrews, in North Street, held ten tenements in town.

Knights-Templars. A military order, poor at first.

Aberdeen.

Aboyne. The lands and castle passed from William Bisset to the Knights Templars in 1242; from them to the Frasers of Cowie; and ultimately to the Huntly family.

Adamtoun, Our Lady Kirk of Kyle. A preceptory which had a travelling "pardoner."

Balantrodoch, or Arniston, on the South Esk. By David I. Chief seat of Templars in Scotland.

Edinburgh, Holy Mount, St. Leonard's Hill.

Inchinnan. Church and pertinents granted by Walter Fitz Alan to the Knights Templars. On their suppression in 1312, transferred to the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem. At the Reformation the lands passed to Lord Torphichen, then to Semple of Beltrees.

Maryculter in Kincardineshire. The church and most of the parish passed in 1312 from the Knights Templars to the Knights of St. John. Sir James Sandilands was preceptor in 1547.

Oggerstone, in Stirlingshire.

Red Abbey Stead. Near Newstead in Roxburghshire.

St. German's House, near Seton, in Tranent, in twelfth century.

Banff.

Drem. The barony of 800 acres belonged to the Knights Templars. The priest's house still stands, and the cemetery is now a garden.

Stanhouse.

Tulloch or Tullich in Aberdeenshire.

Turriff. Site marked by "Temple Brae."

Urquhart Bay, north side, on Loch Ness.

CONVENTS IN SCOTLAND.

I. Benedictines or Black Nuns, founded by St. Scholastica, sister of the great St. Benedict, + c. 543. *Had four houses.*

Coldingham or Coludi, founded before 661. St. Ebba's house stood at first on St. Abb's Head, and was transferred to the site of the later priory.

Kilconquhar in Galloway.

Lincluden, founded by Uthred, who died in 1174; but made into a collegiate church c. 1490.

North Berwick, St. Mary's, founded by Duncan, earl of Fife, who died 1154. It was destroyed in 1565. The ruins are near the railway station. The revenue in 1565 was £557, besides rents in kind. It was made a lordship for Sir Alexander Hume by James VI.

II. Cistertians or White Nuns. Had fifteen houses.

Coldstream, St. Mary's, founded in 1143 by Gospatrick, earl of Dunbar.

Edinburgh, St. Mary's, in St. Mary's Wynd.

Eccles, St. Mary's, in Berwickshire; same founder as Coldstream.

Elbotil, or Eldbottle, in Dirleton.

Elquho, in Strathearn, in parish of Rhynd, at "Grange of Elcho."

Emmanuel, St. Mary, near Linlithgow, now Manuel. Founded by Malcolm IV.

Gulane, in Dirleton.

Haddington, St. Mary's, in Nungate.

Halyston, St. Leonard's, near Berwick; by Duncan, earl of Fife, in 1154.

Perth, St. Leonard's, before 1296.

St. Bothan's. The nunnery of St. Mary at Abbey St. Bathans, founded c. 1200, by Ada, countess of Dunbar, was a cell of South Berwick, and had income of £47. The east and west walls of the chapel, 58 by 28 feet, survive in the parish church.

South Berwick.

Trefontaines, or Strafontane, one mile west of St. Bothan's, called also an hospital.

Iona, St. Nonad. This had at first Benedictines (Black Nuns), under Prioress Beatrice, sister of the founder, Reginald, lord of the Isles. But there were White Nuns (Augustinians) at Iona previous to Bower of Inchcolm.

Innishail, in Loch Awe, where the chapel was in use till 1736.

III. Nuns of St. Clair, or Minoresses of St. Francis; founded by Santa Clara at Assisi, in 1212. *Had three houses.*

Aberdeen, St. Katharine of Sienna.

Aberdour, St. Martha's Nunnery of St. Clair, 1476.

Dundee, in 1260, by Devorgilla.

IV. Dominican Nuns.

Edinburgh, St. Katharine of Sienna. "The Sheens" or Sciennes at Newington.

V. Carmelite Nuns.

Edinburgh, St. Mary's of Placentia. "The Pleasaunce."

HOSPITALS.

Besides eighty-two monasteries and twenty-four convents, there were eighty-three hospitals established, of which a list is given in Wallcott's

"Ancient Church of Scotland" (p. 384), and a shorter list of twenty-eight in Spottiswood's "Religious Houses." Their uses were—as infirmaries for the sick and aged, as hostels for pilgrims and travellers, as homes for lepers. In days when no poor-law existed and surgeons were few, this ancient form of medical mission was one of the best aspects of the Gospel, and ought to make us think more kindly of the old Church than we commonly do in modern Scotland. The very name of *Maison Dieu* (well known still in Brechin) is a hymn in itself. It is noteworthy that no fewer than eight of these hospitals are commemorative of St. Leonard, whose day is November 6. He was a French nobleman under Clovis I., and a disciple of St. Remigius, who became a hermit in a forest four leagues from Limoges. He died c. 559. Prisoners were his especial care. Five bear the name of Mary Magdalene, probably in reference to the alabaster box of ointment mentioned in St. Luke vii. 37.

List of Hospitals (alphabetical).

Aberdeen had four: 1. St. Anne's Lazar House; 2. St. Thomas the Martyr, before 1490; 3. A foundation by Bishop Dunbar in 1538 for twelve poor unmarried men—it stood west of the cathedral; 4. St. Peter's Spital, by Bishop Kyninmond. 5. Aberdour, St. Mary and St. Peter, 1487. 6. Aldneston or Aldcambus, Lazar Hospital, before 1177, under Melrose, endowed by David, baron of Quixwood, in Abbey St. Bathans. 7. Arbroath, St. John Baptist. 8. Ardross, belonging to South Berwick.

9. Ballantyne's Hospital, for a master and seven poor folk, on the road between Edinburgh and Dalkeith. 10. Balgavies in Forfarshire. 11. Balincrieff or Bancrieff, St. Cuthbert's at Aberlady, twelfth century. 12. Banff, bedehouse for eight aged women. 13. Berwick, Maison Dieu by Philip de Rydal. 14. Brechin, Maison Dieu, 1264.

15. Cambuslang Spital, village of Spital on road towards Rutherglen. 16. Cavers Spital, Roxburghshire. 17. Crailing Spital, belonging to abbey of Ancrum. 18. Crookston, near Paisley, c. 1200, by Robert Croc, for infirm men.

19. Dalkeith, 1396, for six poor men, by Sir James Douglas. 20. Donislee or Doonslea, near Ayr, St. Leonard's Hospital. 21. Dunbar, had a Maison Dieu at head of High Street. 22. Dunbarton, hospital for bedesmen. 23. Dunkeld, St. George's Hospital, by Bishop Brown, 1510, for seven old men. 24. Duns.

Edinburgh had seven:—25. Maison Dieu of St. Mary Magdalene in Cowgate, c. 1507, for chaplain and seven bedesmen, by Michael and Janet Macquhen; 26. St. Leonard's Hospital at St. John's Hill, Salisbury Crags; 27. Greenside, Leper House; 28. Lazar House near the house of the provost of Trinity College; 29. Maison Dieu at head of Bell's Wynd; 30. St. Mary's Hospital in Leith Wynd, 1479, by Bishop Spens of Aberdeen; 31. St. Thomas Hospital, for seven red-gowned almsmen, near the Watergate, by Bishop Crighton of Dunkeld. 32. Ednam Spital, St. Leonard's (St. Laurence?), near Kelso. 33. Elgin, Maison Dieu, c. 1226, on west side of city.

Glasgow had three:—34. St. Nicholas, for twelve bedesmen, 1470, by Bishop Muirhead; 35. St. Ninian's Leper Hospital, by Lady Lochow, c. 1450, on south side of Clyde in Govan parish, marked by Hospital

Street, near the end of Bishop Rae's bridge, now Stockwell Bridge; 36. Farmington Hospital, at Stable Green Port, near the cathedral, 1491, by Bishop Blackader (a chapel and hospital called *Farnington* in the parish of Roxburgh was in 1186 confirmed by the Pope to the Bishop of Glasgow).

Haddington had two:—37. St. Mary's; 38. St. Laurence. 39. Hamilton, St. Mary of Bethlehem, 1459. 40. Hassendean, Monk's Tower, a hostel for pilgrims, c. 1180. 41. Helmisdaill, in parish of Loth, St. John Baptist, belonging to Kinloss. 42. Horndene or Upsetlington in Ladykirk, St. Leonard's, by Robert Biset, twelfth century. 43. Hutton, St. John's, Berwickshire. 44. Holywood in Galloway, founded under Robert I., re-endowed in 1372 by Archibald Douglas, lord of Galloway. 45. How Spital, on east bank of the Annan.

46. Jedburgh, Maison Dieu for pilgrims.

47. Kilcause or Kingcase, St. Ninian's Lazar House, near Ayr, for eight lepers, by King Robert I. 48. Kincardine o' Neil, by Alan Durward.

49. Lanark, St. Leonard's. 50. Lauder, at Chapel Yard, for poor almsfolk, by Hugh de Morville. 51. Leith, St. Nicholas. 52. Lasswade, St. Mary of Consolation, 1478, by Rector Robert Blackader (afterwards Archbishop of Glasgow), for the poor and sick pilgrims. 53. Libberton (or Leper-toun) had oil-well and chapel of St. Catharine, famed for curing skin diseases. 54. Legerwood, St. Mary Magdalene, Lazar House. 55. Linlithgow, St. Mary Magdalene.

56. Maxwell, St. Michael's Hospital or Maison Dieu, opposite Roxburgh Castle; the hospital garden site is still marked by roots of old flowers. 57. Mount Teviot in Roxburghshire.

58. Nesbit Spital in parish of Crailing. 59. Newburgh, by Alexander, earl of Buchan.

60. Old Cambus in Cockburnspath, for lepers, twelfth century.

61. Peebles, St. Laurence and St. Leonard. Perth had three:—62. St. Leonard's, before 1296; 63. St. Anne's, on south side of St. John's Church, c. 1500; 64. St. Catharine at the Claypots, 1523. (The hospital of King James VI., with charter of 1569 and confirmation of 1587, was an attempt to conserve some of the endowments of the wrecked religious houses of Perth, but had small success.) 65. Polmadie, St. John's Hospital, before 1319, across the Clyde from Glasgow Green. 66. Portincrag, now Broughty, or Broughty Ferry, and belonged to Arbroath Abbey.

67. Rothvan, St. Peter's, by John Byseth, 1224, for prior, chaplain, seven lepers, and a menial. 68. Old Roxburgh, Maison Dieu, St. Mary Magdalene, by David I., c. 1140. 69. Rutherford, St. Mary Magdalene, in parish of Maxton, belonged to Jedburgh.

70. Sanquhar, before 1296, on north bank of the Nith. 71. Shetland, Lerwick, Lazar House. 72. Shetland, Papastour, lepers. 73. Shotts, St. Catharine of Sienna, by James, lord Hamilton, 1476. 74. Smalholm Spital in Roxburghshire. 75. Soltre, Holy Trinity, by Malcolm IV., 1164, for pilgrims and poor folk; endowed with eight churches. 76. Spey, St. Nicholas at Boharm. 77. Stirling Bridge, St. James's Lazar House, before 1463. 78. Stirling, near the Port of St. Mary's Wynd, asylum for decayed tradesmen, by Robert Spital, tailor to James IV. 79. Stonehouse, Spital. 80. Sugden or Seggieden, St. Augustine's; mentioned 1296.

81. Torrens or Torrance in East Kilbride, St. Leonard's, thirteenth century. 82. Trailtrow in Cummertrees. 83. Turriff, St. Congan's Maison Dieu or Hospital, for master, six chaplains, and thirteen poor husbandmen, by Alexander Comyn, earl of Buchan, in 1272. In 1329 Robert I. added a mass chaplainry for his brother Nigel Bruce, slain at Kildrummy. The site is still known as "Abbey Land."

Many of the sites of old hospitals, or at least the lands with which they were endowed, are identifiable by the name of Spital, either alone or joined with such words as street, field, hill, house, burn, shiels, haugh.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE CATASTROPHE OF THE ROMAN CHURCH, 1542–1560.

Narrative of events from death of James V.—Murder of Cardinal Beaton—Mary of Guise succeeds Arran as regent—Marriage of Queen Mary to the Dauphin—The Regent's conduct at Perth irritates the Lords—Parliament of August, 1560, accepts a new Confession—Representative churchmen of the better sort: Ninian Wingate and Bishop Leslie, Bishop Reid, Archbishop James Beaton, and Abbot Kennedy—Authors of Catechism of 1552 and Archbishop Hamilton—Three provincial councils called for reform—Fourteen causes leading to overthrow of the Church—Better features of the Roman Church—Where did the old Church wealth go?

AN organic and systematic exhibition of the old Church, being somewhat dry work, has been too often passed over by our historical writers, who excusably preferred the lively line of events, or the fuller treatment of one local subject, such as we find in the admirable volumes on the abbeys of Lindores and Paisley. But we cannot do justice to the merits of the pre-Reformation Church, unless we have some clear and comprehensive idea of its wonderful internal organization, for its weaknesses were chiefly moral and personal. Nor can we understand the working of one of the secret and most potent motives that led to the Church's overthrow with a sudden crash in 1560, unless we have seen in detail the nature, extent, and growth of the old ecclesiastical endowments, which were so strong a temptation to greedy, turbulent, and unscrupulous barons and lairds, who shrewdly foresaw in an ecclesiastical revolution a rich chance of plunder, besides the crippling of a rival or superior power in the state. The view here taken strips the Reformed Church that succeeds of some of its gilding, but it is far better in the long-run to be strictly impartial, and draw as true a picture as we possibly can of the Roman Church in Scotland, which was our forefathers' church as well as Roman. We can never ourselves be beyond the reach of revolution, and were such fate to overtake us we can conceive how bitter it would be to have our good qualities forgotten or caricatured, while our faults were exaggerated and gibbeted.

On the death of James V. at Falkland, in 1542, the throne fell to an infant seven days old. It has been said that Beaton claimed the custody of the infant in terms of a forged will

of the late king. In point of fact the Earl of Arran, the next heir to the throne, became regent by authority of the Estates. The earl was a good, easy, fickle soul, with no backbone in his policy. The one aim of Henry VIII. was to secure possession of the infant queen, and to have her married as early as possible to his son Edward, so as to swallow up Scotland in England. To this end he tried hard to use the Scots captured at Solway—called on the one side "the Assured Scots," and on the other "the English Lords"—against their country's independence. They made the best bargain they could for their own freedom by holding out slippery hopes; but though they gave hostages of sons or relatives for their fulfilment, most of them did the very opposite of what Henry bargained for, as England was to them simply "the auld enemy." The Scots clergy were more patriotic than the Solway captives, as they had always been, even in the dark days of Wallace and Bruce, at the peril of their churches. Cardinal Beaton meantime was in prison at Blackness in charge of Lord Seton his friend, and he was ludicrously removed to St. Andrews to his own castle. The reason of this imprisonment of Beaton, while formally his treasonable correspondence with France, was really that his patriotic statesmanship stood in the way of the "Assured Scots"—viz. the Earls of Cassilis and Glencairn, with the Lords Fleming, Maxwell, Somerville, and Oliphant—betraying their country into the hands of Henry VIII. for their own selfish ends. But the imprisonment of Beaton, who at this stage had full popular sympathy, put all things into confusion, by the country being laid under interdict of the Church and the services of religion suspended; so that in view of this storm his enemies quailed, and ended his imprisonment by transferring him to his own castle. Moreover, it was during this imprisonment of Beaton that in May, 1543, the Parliament permitted the use of the Bible in the vulgar tongue—a measure against which the other bishops appealed to a Provincial Council. To be safer against the arts or force of Henry the young child and queen-dowager were shifted from Linlithgow to Stirling—a prudent move, effected after a meeting of the cardinal's party at St. Andrews. A treaty on the lines of the less offensive part of Henry's design was on the point of acceptance by the Scottish

Estates, when Arran suddenly made friends with the cardinal, and the course was so changed that in December the treaty was decisively repudiated—to the wild rage of the would-be father-in-law. In May of 1544 an English fleet entered the Firth of Forth and landed an army under the Earl of Hertford, which burned Edinburgh for three days, and ravaged the coast towns of Fife; but marching toward the Border, for more destruction, they met with a sudden and sharp chastisement at Ancrum Moor. The very next year Hertford made a second Scottish inroad, crossing from England into the Kelso-Jedburgh-Melrose-Dryburgh country, and working unparalleled destruction of life, grain, cattle, and architecture. Hertford's report to his brutal master, besides burnt and plundered grain, specified 12,492 sheep, 1292 nags and geldings, "towns, towers, stedes, barnekins, parish churches, bastel-houses—192; villages—243; monasteries and friar-houses—7." Thus perished the grand Border abbeys of David I.—not, as is commonly supposed, by the fury of Reformers, but by English savagery and soldiery, because under the name of marriage we refused to concede our national independence.

At this time, in some silent way, reforming views were spreading in Scotland, as was seen in the fact that a mob at Dundee destroyed the Black and Grey Friars monasteries, and also the Abbey of Lindores, turning adrift the helpless monks. A mob also attempted to wreck Arbroath Abbey, but were held at bay by Lord Ogilvie, and similarly the citizens of Edinburgh defended their Blackfriars house from a local reform mob. The religious struggle is further seen from opposite sides in a peculiarly unpleasant form, in the burning of George Wishart for heresy at St. Andrews in 1545, and the vile assassination, partly retaliatory, of Cardinal Beaton at the same place on 29th May of the next year, by Norman Leslie, the eldest son of the Earl of Rothes. Beaton, with all his faults, was the greatest statesman of the age in Scotland, and his removal—while it cleared the way for the subversion of the Church—was an irreparable loss from a civil and patriotic point of view. The garrison of the Castle of St. Andrews held out for fourteen months, till August, 1547. It is only fair to confess that they were a crew of despera-

does and blackguards, and it is not easy to regard John Knox with honest Christian sympathy for casting in his lot, even temporarily, with such men; and his having to keep them company in the French galleys till February, 1549, was a punishment not altogether unmerited.

The deadly policy of Henry VIII. survived its author, when the Protector Somerset marched northward with 15,000 troops, attended by a coasting fleet, and successfully engaged the Scots at Pinkie, near Musselburgh, in 1547, through bad generalship on the Scottish side. This sore defeat and slaughter was followed by the destruction of Holyrood Abbey and other cruel ravages around Edinburgh; but it led to no more permanent evils, as the English had quickly to go south again. One result of the scare was the shifting, for security, of the young queen from Stirling to the island of Inchmahome.

A new turn to affairs was given by the arrival of a French fleet at Leith on 16th June, 1548, with 6000 men and cannon, as allies to the Scots against England. An ambassador, Sieur D'Essé, accompanied the expedition. Previous to this an arrangement, with some degree of recognition, had existed, whereby a son of the Earl of Arran, the governor, was to marry the young queen. But under the influence of D'Essé this was set aside in favour of the Dauphin, and the matter was put in shape so speedily that the queen sailed in the French fleet from Dunbarton, and reached Brest 30th August, 1548. With the help of the French cannon the English were dislodged from forts at Broughty, Inchkeith, Hume, Haddington, and Lauder. But meanwhile the King of France had made a peace with England, which included his ally of Scotland. This peace, which lasted from April, 1550, to 1554, restored to Scotland the whole of her old territory, and was of special value in enabling men to return to agriculture and the repair of burnt farmsteads and villages. The same period of rest had a very important political result in leading to a change in the governorship, whereby Arran retired, and Mary of Guise, the queen-mother, succeeded, and held the office till 1560, so that with her regency we arrive at the more immediate movements which culminated in the Reformation.

Although the new regent had been now sixteen years in

Scotland she had learned but little of our language—never getting beyond putting "me" for "I," and limiting herself to a few score elementary nouns, adjectives, and verbs; but her greatest defect was in not understanding our national temper and feelings. Otherwise she was a prudent, intelligent, and devout woman, who seems honestly to have wished the peace and welfare of Scotland, but these always with the preservation of the old faith and Church. She ought to have earlier found out that Scotsmen would no more submit to be ruled by Frenchmen than by Englishmen, and that Scotland would never be a province under either. Against this strong national feeling she erred when De Roubay was made vice-chancellor; when Boutot was made governor of Orkney; when Bartholomew Villemore was put in a post in the exchequer, and D'Oysel in the Regent's Council; when French troops alone held Dunbar Castle and a fort at Eyemouth. What gave most offence of all was her project for a standing army, to be maintained by a new tax. A fundamental change like this should never have been proposed by an *interim* ruler. In the winter of 1557 a commission of six members crossed to France to arrange for the queen's marriage with the Dauphin, the commissioners being Archbishop James Beaton of Glasgow, Lord James Stuart (the queen's illegitimate half-brother), Lord Rothes, Lord Cassilis, Bishop Reid of Orkney, and John Erskine, laird of Dun. It is to be noted that two of these six—the Lord James and Erskine of Dun—were very soon to develop into leaders of the reform party. And it is further to be noted that two extremely awkward things occurred in connection with this marriage commission—the one, that proposals were made and underhand documents actually signed afterwards by Queen Mary, utterly inconsistent with Scottish nationality; the other, that three of the commissioners died suddenly at Dieppe on their way home (Rothes, Cassilis, and Reid)—it is supposed of poison, to hinder them divulging the extent and details of the French designs against our nation. The actual marriage took place, 24th April, 1558. On the 10th of July, 1559, Henry II. of France died of a face wound received in a tournament, and Mary Stuart thereon became Queen of France as well as of

Scotland; and this was her position at the time when, in Scotland, the Reformation was accomplished in her absence, for it was 19th August, 1561, when she landed again at Leith as the widow of Francis II.

But meantime another influence, and a great one, affected religion in Scotland on the death, 17th November, 1558, of "Bloody" Mary of England, which opened the succession to her half-sister Elizabeth, whose sympathies were wholly with the Protestant party. Knox had been in Geneva since July, 1556, but his views were gaining ground, as shown in the First Covenant or "Band," dated 3rd December, 1557, the subscribers coming to be known as "The Lords of the Congregation." A second "Band" was subscribed in 1559. The martyrdom of Walter Mill, the priest of Lunan, at the age of eighty-two, on 28th August, 1558, at St. Andrews, made a great popular impression against the old faith. Jest and tumult also contributed at the annual procession of St. Giles, on 1st September of the same year, when the saint's image was stolen and the smaller substitute was upset, then dragged through the Nor Loch, and burned. The same year witnessed the presentation to the regent of the petition of the Protestant barons, by Sir James Sandilands of Torphichen, a married priest. The Ecclesiastical Council of 1559, dealing honestly and bravely with the subject of inward reform of church and churchmen, in the Dominican monastery of Edinburgh, rose on 10th April never to meet again. Most decisive of all was the preaching of Knox, in May, 1559 (he had come on 2nd May from France at the special desire of the Lords of the Congregation), at Perth, Crail, Anstruther, and St. Andrews, when unhappily a number of monasteries and churches were sacked. This preaching was preceded by the regent breaking promise with the Congregation and putting their preachers to the horn—*i.e.*, declaring them outlaws. The regent had used French money to hire troops to garrison Perth, and had entered it with a body-guard of French troops under D'Oysel, notwithstanding that the four following points had been agreed to by her just before:—(1) "Both the armies shall be disbanded, and the town left open to the queen; (2) none of the inhabitants shall be molested on account of the late alteration in religion;

(3) no Frenchman shall enter the town, nor come within three miles of it; and when the queen retires, no French garrison will be left in the town; (4) that all other controversies be left to the next Parliament." This breach of faith gave occasion to some of the more cautious nobles to quit the regent and side with the reform party. They grew so strong that on 23rd October a great meeting of nobles and burghers, the spiritual lords being absent, issued a proclamation declaring the regent deposed. The cry now was danger from France, and to make common cause with England to avert it. The danger from France became apparent when 1000 fresh French troops landed and encamped at Leith to help the regent. At this stage Maitland of Lethington left the regent's party and sided with the Lords of the Congregation. D'Oysel's troops made a harrying march through Fife, and increased the popular rage against the French. But now English ships with 6000 troops appeared, and on the 7th of May, 1560, English and Scots, combined, assaulted the French in Leith, but in vain. Soon after this two French commissioners, De Randan and Mouluc, bishop of Valence, met at Newcastle with Cecil and Wotton as commissioners from England, and came to an agreement that the French troops should quit Scotland; that the French king and queen should give up the use of the name of England in their titles and arms; that the government of Scotland should be granted to the nation, and that the things done by the nobles and people should be considered as done in defence of their liberties and of the rights of their sovereign. This was embodied in the treaty of Edinburgh, of 6th July, 1560. But the clause as to the abandonment of the use of the name of England in title and arms, although accepted by the French commissioners, Mary never would ratify. In the midst of these arrangements the regent died in the Castle of Edinburgh on the 9th of June, in peace and concord and mutual forgiveness of those of the Reformed clergy who ministered to her.

The last great step was taken when the Estates met in August. On the 17th they approved of a Confession of Faith that had been preparatorily drawn up by five leading reformers, to whom a commission had been given by the great Council on

29th April. On the 25th of August the Estates completed the Revolution or Reformation by passing a series of three Acts—the first repealing other beliefs, the second abjuring the Pope, and the third prescribing penalties of extreme severity for administering or being present at mass.

A view of the inner working of the meeting is obtained from the following note in Hill Burton[1]:—"Throckmorton, the English ambassador, gives an account of this eventful Parliament. He 'never heard matters of such great importance sooner dispatched, nor with better will agreed unto.' After a question about the institution of the Parliament, 'the next was the ratification of the Confession of Faith, which the Bishop of St. Andrews said was a matter that he had not been accustomed with, and had had no sufficient time to consider or confer with his friends; howbeit, as he would not utterly condemn it, so was he loath to give his consent thereunto. To that effect spake also the Bishops of Dunkeld and Dunblane. Of the lords temporal the Earls of Cassilis and Caithness said No. The rest of the lords, with common consent and glad will, allowed the same.' The old Lord Lindsay, as grave and godly a man as ever he saw, said, 'I have lived many years; I am the oldest man in this company of my sort; now that it has pleased God to let me see this day, where so many nobles and others have allowed so worthy a work, I will say with Simeon, *nunc dimittis*.' The old Laird of Lundie confessed how long he had lived in blindness, repented his former life, and embraced the same as his true belief. The Lord James, after some other purpose, said, that he must the sooner believe it to be true for that some other in the company did not allow the same—he knew that God's truth would never be without adversaries. The Lord Marshall said, though he were otherwise assured it were true, yet might he be the bolder to pronounce it, for that he saw there the pillars of the Pope's church, and not one of them would speak against it. Many others spoke to like effect, as the Laird of Erskine, the Laird of Newbattle, the sub-prior of St. Andrews; concluding all in one that that was the faith in which they ought all to live and die."

The spiritual lords seem to have been stricken dumb by the

[1] End of Chapter xxxviii.

defection of some of their own number, by the open immorality and unpresentableness of others, by knowledge that the temporal lords were swayed by foresight of spoil, and were backed by Queen Elizabeth, and, perhaps most of all, by the knowledge that they had lost the sympathy of the common people. The silence and paralysis of bishops, abbots, and priors, in Parliament, is the more marvellous when we consider the really noble defence that was made for years before, and at that very time, outside Parliament, by not a few of the old clergy who laboured for inner reform, for correction of external abuses, and who defended the old faith in its main foundations, apart from its more offensive, superstitious, and greedy dues, levied on the common people unmercifully.

A modern Roman Catholic writer[1] (the Rev. W. Forbes-Leith), has said truly, and without exaggeration—"On the eve of the Reformation the Church of Scotland could glory in prelates who were distinguished equally for their talents and their virtues. Foremost among these were Robert Reid, bishop of Orkney and abbot of two northern monasteries, known as the founder of libraries, the introducer of foreign schoolmasters and gardeners, the restorer of the buildings as well as of the discipline of the cloister; also Alexander Myln, abbot of Cambuskenneth and first president of the College of Justice, instituted by James V. in imitation of the law courts of France, one who united in himself the man of business and man of letters, the lawyer and reformer of learning. The bishopric of Ross was held successively by several men of eminent qualities. David Panter, consecrated in 1546, whom Bishop Keith pronounces 'a person of most polite education and excellent parts,' belonged to a family of statesmen and scholars. Another Bishop of Ross, after a very short interval, was Henry Sinclair, 'the reformer of the law, and the patron of the literature of his country.' He was succeeded by John Leslie, 'whose character combined all that was pious and amiable in the prelate, sagacious, firm, and upright in the statesman, learned and elegant in the scholar and man of letters.' James Beaton, archbishop of Glasgow, beloved by all who knew him, was ambassador at the French court for forty-two years.

[1] "Scottish Catholics," p. 6.

"The inferior clergy could also pride itself on many learned and virtuous priests, who after undergoing for several years the various trials of a severe persecution, were at last banished; and who, strangers though they were, acquired in foreign universities a high reputation for character, ability, and learning. M'Crie says, 'They were to be found in all the universities and colleges. In several of them they held the honourable situation of principal, and in others they amounted to a third of the professors.' In Paris alone we find John Fraser, the fourth son of Alexander Fraser of Philorth, elected in 1596 rector of the University of Paris; Patrick Cockburn, who held a professorship of Oriental languages; James Tyrie (of Drumkilbo), John Hay (of Dalgaty) lectured successively on philosophy and theology; Edmund Hay was rector of the College of Clermont; John Bosseville, James Laing, John Bellenden, David Cranston, James Ballantyne, David and William Chamber, and many others, were doctors of the Sorbonne."

Men who favoured reform *within* the Church were—John Mair, provost of St. Salvator's College; John Winram, subprior of St. Andrews; Gavin Logie, principal of St. Leonard's; Robert Richardson, canon regular of Cambuskenneth; Alexander Seton, Dominican friar and confessor to James V.; Friar William Airth.

Another class, though small, yet composed of earnest and able men, were the *defenders* of the old faith. To these especially reformed Scotland has failed in doing justice, but more recently their true merit has been recognized. Such were Quintin Kennedy, Ninian Winzet, Bishop John Leslie of Ross, Bishop John Sinclair of Brechin, and (if not personally yet in his work) the author of the noble Catechism of 1552. A short biographical sketch of six of the chief of the above may here be given as a due tribute to great men on the other side.

Ninian Winzet, or Wingate, was born in 1518 at Renfrew, and appointed burgh schoolmaster at Linlithgow in 1551, where he spent ten years. "Reuolueand in mynd yat maist flurissand part of my aige, spent in ye teaching of ye grammar-scule of Linlychtquow, about ye space of ten zeiris, I jugeit the teching of the zouthed in vertew and science, nixt efter ye auctoritie with the ministeris of justice, vnder it and efter ye angilicall

office of godlie pastours, to obtene the thrid principal place maist commodious and necessare to the kirk of God." In 1561 he was cited before Spotswood, superintendent of Lothian, and being unable to renounce his creed was deprived of office. "At ye command of Dene Patrik Kinloquhy, precheour in Linlythgow, and of his superintendent, gentil reidar, I, for denying only to subscrive yair phantasie and faction of faith, wes expellit and schott out of yat my kyndly toun, and fra my tender freindis yair." He was author of three tracts dated from Edinburgh after this harsh expulsion. The first (given to the Queen, 15th February, 1562) asks permission to write certain things to the Protestant preachers as to doctrine, orders, and manners; the second, on the lawful vocation of ministers, with three letters to Knox; and the third, a recommendation of certain festivals. He printed also "Last Blast of the Trumpet," and "Vocation of Protestant Preachers." The magistrates of Edinburgh visited the printing office, seized his proofs, and imprisoned the printer. Wingate himself escaped to Flanders, where in 1563 he published eighty-three questions on "Doctrine, Ordour, and Maneris;" also a translation of Vincentius Lirinensis. In 1565 he passed to France, taught in Paris in 1569, and in 1576 became abbot of St. James' at Ratisbon. He next published "Flagellum Sectariorum" and "Velitatio in Buchananum" (a refutation of "De Jure Regni apud Scotos"). Ten years after these books appeared he died, 21st September, 1592. His "Certain Tractatis," &c., was issued in 1835 by the Maitland Club. But this has been superseded by the edition and Life by the Scottish Text Society in 1888.

What a bold honest Scot Wingate was, seeing and bewailing the shameful state of the Church, is apparent from this scrap of his Tract of 1561:—"Your godly and circumspect distribution of benefices to your babeis, ignorantis and filthy ains, al Ethnic, Turk and Jow may lauch at it, that being the ground of al impietie and division within the, O Scotland."

JOHN LESLIE, bishop of Ross (illegitimate son of Gavin Leslie, rector of Kingussie, commissary of Moray), was born 29th September, 1527, educated at King's College, Aberdeen, in 1550 made canon of Aberdeen at Ellon, then studied at Paris divinity and languages, especially Greek and Hebrew,

then took civil and canon law for four years at Poitiers, received degree of LL.D. at Toulouse, and there taught canon law. Coming to Scotland in 1554, he taught civil law in Aberdeen, and in 1558 became official of Aberdeen, having previously been parson of Oyne. In 1560 he appeared in the disputation held at Edinburgh, and next January was cited to give account of his faith. In April, 1561, on the death of Mary's husband, Francis II., he was sent to France by the Catholic nobles to secure the queen for their side. She made him a privy councillor, and in 1564 a lord of Session. In 1565 he became Bishop of Ross, and next year Abbot of Lindores *in commendam*. His "De Origine, &c., Scotorum" was published at Rome in 1578. In 1593 he was made Bishop of Coutances in Normandy, and died in 1596, at the age of seventy, in the monastery of Gertrudenberg, near Brussels. He was imprisoned in the Tower of London by Elizabeth for planning the escape of Mary and her marriage with the Duke of Norfolk. Three times he suffered imprisonment for his zeal in his queen's service. He wrote "Piæ Consolationes," which was given to Mary, and versified by her in French. The day before her execution, the queen wrote commending him to Philip of Spain for preferment, as "that most pious, able, and devoted servant." His "History of Scotland in Scots, 1436–1561," was written in 1570, and published from his MS. in 1830.[1]

Robert Reid, bishop of Orkney, was the son of John Reid of Akynhead, in Fife, who fell at Flodden. He was educated at St. Andrews, where he lodged with an uncle Robert, who was official of the diocese and afterwards sub-dean of Moray. In 1528 he was anointed abbot of Kinloss, in Greyfriars, Edinburgh, by Bishop Gavin Dunbar of Aberdeen. In 1530 he got the Abbey of Beauly *in commendam*. Twice he acted on embassies to Henry VIII., and twice to Francis I., in 1535–36. In 1541 he had two missions to England as to disputed marches. From 1538 to 1544 he was busy with building at Kinloss and Beauly. In 1538 he brought a French painter, Andrew Bairhum, to Kinloss, and also John Ferrerius, the Piedmontese, a noted teacher of philosophy, who wrote

[1] See Laing's "Lindores," pp. 125–129. A portrait of the good bishop is prefixed to Forbes-Leith's "Scottish Catholics."

notices of the abbots of Kinloss, especially of his patron Reid.[1] Abbot Reid brought also a gardener from France, whose skill was available over the province as well as at the monastery. In 1541 he was recommended by the king to the Pope for the see of Orkney, and to retain his present offices besides the bishopric. At Orkney the bishop built the Palace Tower at Kirkwall, which still bears his arms; he added three bays and a splendid porch to the cathedral itself; founded also a grammar-school, and gave a new constitution, with suitable endowments, to the cathedral chapter. From 1554 to 15th September, 1558, when he died at Dieppe, he was occupied on state business of the highest order at home and abroad. By his will he left 8000 merks for a college at Edinburgh, with which was purchased, in 1581, the Kirk of Field.

JAMES BEATON, archbishop of Glasgow, was the youngest of the three great men of that family, being nephew to David, the cardinal, who again was nephew to James (died 1539), archbishop first of Glasgow and then primate. This youngest Beaton was the second of seven sons of John Beaton of Balfour, in Fife, elder brother of Cardinal David. After a careful education in Paris his first office was that of chanter of Glasgow. In 1543 he became Abbot of Arbroath in succession to his uncle. In 1552 he became Archbishop of Glasgow, enjoying the confidence of the Governor Arran, of the Regent Mary of Guise, his niece, Mary Beaton, being one of the queen's four Maries. In 1559 his old friend the Earl of Arran, who now sided with the Reformers, "took order," and cleared Glasgow Cathedral of images, and put a garrison in the castle-palace, which, however, the archbishop recovered with French soldiers. In July, 1560, when, according to treaty, the French troops left Leith, Beaton went with them, taking all the cathedral plate and records, especially the "Red Book of Glasgow," written in the reign of Robert III. These treasures were all carefully deposited in the Scots College in Paris. Beaton was left by Queen Mary in Paris, in 1561, as her ambassador, and was continued by James VI. in the same capacity. In 1587, in defiance of law, he was restored by the king to his title and estates as Archbishop

[1] See Stuart's "Kinloss," Pref.

of Glasgow. His death took place, 24th April, 1603. He had served as ambassador to three generations of Scots monarchs, had seen six kings of France, serving as ambassador under five of the six, and at last left all his wealth of 80,000 livres to the Scots College for the education of poor Scotsmen, founded in 1325 by the great Bishop David Moray, of Moray. So thoroughly recognized were the integrity, purity, and disinterested liberality of James Beaton, that no attacks were ever made on his character, amid all the rage of faction and corruption in his long career. Without being brilliant, he was a pre-eminently wise and good bishop, whose name is still revered by families of the old blood of Clydesdale.[1]

QUINTIN KENNEDY, abbot of Crossraguel, in Carrick, was the youngest son of Gilbert, earl of Cassilis. He was educated at St. Andrews, being enrolled at St. Salvator's in 1540, and studying also at Paris. First vicar of Girvan, in Carrick, he next, in 1547, succeeded his uncle William as abbot at Crossraguel. He sat in the Provincial Council of 27th November, 1549. In 1558, at the request of his nephew, the Master of Cassilis, he published from the shop of John Scott, in Edinburgh, "A Compendious Tractive, conform to the Scriptures of Almighty God, reason, and authority, declaring the nearest and only way to establish the conscience of a Christian man in all matters which are in debate concerning faith and religion." The Compendious Tractive is one of the best known works of its age. Keith[2] gives an analysis of it, while it was reprinted in 1835 by the Maitland Club, and again in 1844 in the *Wodrow Miscellany*. The abbot wrote eleven other works, named in Bellesheim.[3] The Tractive was not answered till 1563 by Principal Davidson of Glasgow, one of his old Parisian fellow-students. In March, 1559, Kennedy challenged Willock at Ayr to a discussion on the sacrifice of the Mass, but Willock swerved on the subject of the Fathers, and then acted unfairly in bringing with him 400 to 500 followers instead of twelve, as agreed on. Keith[4] gives the argument as between Kennedy and Willock, as does also the *Wodrow Miscellany*.[5] In 1561

[1] The writer is able, with double gladness, to bear this testimony, by family tradition, as the descendant of one of Beaton's "Rentallers," who had held also for centuries of the cathedral before Beaton.

[2] "Affairs," appen. iii. p. 405. [3] II. 254. [4] "Affairs," appen. iii. 396. [5] Pp. 259–277.

Kennedy wrote "An Oration in favour of all those of the Congregation, exhorting them to espy how wonderfully they are abused by their deceitful Preachers." Another work of the same year, on the sacrifice of the Mass, was answered by George Hay, of Aberdeen, in 1563. Most famous of all is Kennedy's disputation with Knox at Maybole in 1562.[1] He died 22nd August, 1564. Kennedy had the same bold honesty as Wingate in exposing the shameful moral corruption of the Church, which in point of doctrine and constitution he defended with his whole soul.

The following specimen of his sentiments and style is drawn from Keith[2]:—"Bot thow may se daylie lykewyse be experience ane bairne and ane babe, to quhame scarcelie wald thou geve ane fair apill to keip, gett perchance fyve thousand saules to gyde; and all for avarice, the rute of all vice, that their parentis may gett the profect of the benefice to their awin singulare commoditie, and the pure simpyll bairne scarslie gett to bring him up vertuuslie; the convent, and place quhare God sulde be daylie honourit and servit, gais clene to rewyne: And zit thay quha are the procuraris, disponaris and upsteraris of sick monsterus farssis to be in the Kirk of God, ar the maist principall cryaris out on the vices of kirkmen. Geve the Kirk had the auld ancient libertie (as perchance sum tyme it had) that ane byschop wer frelie chosin be his chaptire, the abbot and prior be the convent, and of the convent; then sulde be qualifeit men in all the estatis of the kirk, then sulde all hereseis be stemit, and the peple weill teicheit. . . . As to me, I wyll say na thing; but humelie beseik the Lord God tyll illuminat the hartis of the magistratis (specialie quhilkis hes the authoritie to be the upsteraris of faithfull ministeris in the kirk of God) to provide sic qualifeit pastouris as wyll do conforme to thair vocation, and as may be to the glore of God, exoneration of thair awin consciences, and thairis quha providis them to have authoritie in government of Christis flok."

AUTHORS OF THE CATECHISM OF 1552.

First, of the origin and design of the book. It was printed in August, 1552, at St. Andrews, at the primate's expense, and

[1] In Knox's works, by Laing.

[2] "Affairs," appendix iii. p. 411.

bearing his name on its title-page. The approbation of it was before the Provincial Synod at Edinburgh in January, 1551–52, as appears from the original title-page: "The Catechisme, that is to say, ane commone and catholik instruction of the Christin people in materis of our catholik faith and religioun, quilk na gud Christin man or woman suld misknaw; set furth be the maist reverend father in God, Johne, archbischop of Sanct Androus, legatnait and primat of the Kirk of Scotland, in his provincial counsale haldin at Edinburgh the xxvi. day of Januarie, the yeir of our Lord 1551, with the advise and counsale of the bischoippis and uthir prelatis with doctours of theologie and canon law of the said realme of Scotland present for the tyme." This book, composed in the Scottish dialect, and approved, after a thorough examination, by the most prudent and learned theologians of the whole kingdom, was to be put into the hands of the rectors, vicars, and curates for their own instruction and that of their flocks. It was to be read aloud from the pulpit by the rector or curate, vested in surplice and stole, every Sunday and holy day for the space of half an hour before High Mass. All the chapters and sections, including the preface and introduction, were to be read through. The reader must speak audibly, intelligibly, and reverently. He must articulate his words distinctly and attend to the punctuation. Moreover, lest by any stammering or stumbling he should excite the ridicule of his congregation, he must rehearse his future lection by frequent and daily repetition, and learn to impress the minds of his hearers by the animation of his voice and gesture, and by fervour of spirit. Alas, all this was ineffectual, for the book passed out of sight almost as soon as it was printed. It was reprinted in facsimile in 1882 by Professor Mitchell, and in 1884 was edited by T. G. Law, with a fine introduction.

The book itself is of the highest excellence in matter, composition, and tone, and does very great honour to its authors. Its four parts are—Of the Ten Commandis; Expositioun of the xii. Artikils of the Crede; Declaratioun of the Sevin Sacramentis; Expositioun of the Pater Noster. To these four is added: "Ane declaratioun schawand to quhem we suld pray, and for quhom," dealing with "praying to sanctis and

for the saulis departit." It is not controversial or interrogatory, though called a Catechism, but in homily form; quotation of Scripture is very ample and apt, always in Latin, but always accompanied by a pithy Scots rendering. The silences of the book are very striking—*e.g.* there is no mention of the Pope or of the Church of Rome, and no mention of indulgences. Yet the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary is taught, and communion under one kind is explained and defended. The *Ave Maria*, or *Angelus Domini*, or Angelical Salutation, is given in the old short form: "Hail Marie ful of grace, our Lord is with the, blissit art thow amang wemen, and blessit is the fruit of thi wambe" (with omission of the words, "Holy Mary, mother of God, pray for us sinners, now and at the hour of our death").[1] The moral tone of the whole book and its devotional feeling are praiseworthy in the highest degree, so that with the exception of the part on the seven sacraments, the pendicle on prayers to saints and for the dead, and a few other short passages, the book is sound and edifying to this day to all healthy Christian minds.

As to the authors of the book, it is professedly official, emanating from the Council of 1551, but with special prominence given to the primate on the title-page and at the colophon, thus: "Prentit at Sanct Androus be the command and expensis of the maist reverend father in God, Johne, archbischop of Sanct Androus, and primat of the haill Kirk of Scotland, the xxix. day of August the yeir of our Lord MDLII." Probably the primate did a large part of it himself. His education at Paris, according to the Gallican Church, would lead him to keep the Pope in the background and to take hints from the Reformers there. John Winram, sub-prior of St. Andrews, is traditionally associated with the authorship. Winram sat in the Council of 1551, and had the convenience of residence beside the primate. More able men, possessed of the exact line of qualification, and far higher in spirituality than Winram, were Wingate of Linlithgow and Kennedy of Crossraguel; but it is vain to guess in the absence of record.

John Hamilton, the last Roman Archbishop of St. Andrews, was the illegitimate son of James, first earl of Arran. Born

[1] See on this point Law's Preface, xl. and xli.

in 1512, he entered the monastery of Kilwinning, and at the age of thirteen was elected Abbot of Paisley. In 1540 he went to Paris for canon law and theology. Returning in 1543 he was made privy seal and lord high treasurer by his brother the governor. In 1544 he was nominated to the see of Dunkeld, and on 28th November, 1547, succeeded Beaton as primate. Hamilton put in force the penal laws against heretics, held provincial councils for reform of abuses and for discipline in 1549, 1551, 1559, and reconstituted and endowed St. Mary's College, St. Andrews, "for defending and confirming the Catholic faith." In 1563 he was imprisoned for a short term in Edinburgh Castle, for saying mass, but released at the special instance of the queen. In 1566 he baptized James VI. at Stirling—the last Roman ceremony of State. Hamilton adhered faithfully to the queen, helping her escape from Lochleven, and bearing her company on the fatal field of Langside in 1568, after which he was in distress, and taking refuge in Dunbarton Castle, shared its fate of capture in 1571. He was tried hastily on four charges, to the third of which, the murder of Regent Moray at Linlithgow by his kinsman, Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh, he confessed guilty foreknowledge, and for which he was hanged in his robes on the common gibbet of Stirling, 5th April, 1571. This was cruel and vindictive, though not exactly unjust. Probably his worst fault was his alliance with Grizell Semple, *alias* Lady Gilston, daughter of Lord Robert Sempill, by whom he had three sons who were afterwards legitimated. Through this concubinage, moreover, when the plunder of the Church began, these Sempills for a time shared the spoil of the abbey of Paisley.[1] The most memorable work of this last primate of Scotland was his share in the noble Catechism of 1552, the beautiful swan-song of a dying church.

The struggle of and for the old Church by the true, but now too late, method of inward reform, finally took place in a series of three councils. The earliest of them was held in the Blackfriars Church at Edinburgh in November, 1549. This had been preceded and prepared for by a convention of clergy at Linlithgow three months earlier. In the council sat sixty ecclesiastics

[1] See Lees' "Paisley."

of mark—six bishops and two vicars-general, fourteen abbots and priors, seven doctors of divinity, three Dominicans, four Franciscans, besides deans, provosts, and canons. The forty-one canons passed at this council were so judicious and comprehensive that had they been fully and speedily given effect to, they would have so vastly improved the Church that it might, some think, have been left in that condition, rather than subjected to the terrible ordeal of August, 1560, and subsequent years. Bellesheim[1] gives the fullest account of these canons. The following is an abridgment of the injunctions laid on the clergy:[2]—"To put away their concubines, under pain of deprivation of their benefices; to dismiss from their houses the children born to them in concubinage; not to promote such children to benefices, nor to enrich them—the daughters with dowries, the sons with baronies—from the patrimony of the Church. Prelates were admonished not to keep in their households manifest drunkards, gamblers, whoremongers, brawlers, night-walkers, buffoons, blasphemers, and profane swearers. The clergy in general were exhorted to amend their lives and manners, to dress modestly and gravely, to keep their faces shaven and their heads tonsured, to live soberly and frugally, so as to have more to spare for the poor, to abstain from secular pursuits, especially trading.

"Provision was made for preaching to the people; for teaching grammar, divinity, and canon law in cathedrals and abbeys; for visiting and reforming monasteries, nunneries, and hospitals; for recalling fugitives and apostates, whether monks or nuns, to their cloisters; for sending from every monastery one or more monks to a university; for preventing unqualified persons from receiving orders, and from holding cure of souls; for enforcing residence, and for restraining pluralities; for preventing the evasion of spiritual censures by bribes or fines; for silencing pardoners or itinerant hawkers of indulgences and relics; for compelling parish clerks to do their duty in person, or to find sufficient substitutes; for registering the testaments and inventories of persons deceased, and for securing faithful administration of their estates, by bringing their executors to yearly account and reckoning; for suspending unfit notaries, and for

[1] II 200–211. [2] Robertson's Preface to the "Statuta Eccl. Scot." cxlix.

preserving the protocols of notaries deceased; for reforming the abuses of the consistorial courts." The next council, in January, 1552, besides passing ten more practical statutes, gave us the great Catechism already described.[1] The third synod was held on 1st March, 1559, and sat continuously till 10th April. It was occupied with practical "articles of reformation" fitted to meet the chief grievances of the Lords of the Congregation, but on the doctrinal basis of the old faith, and passed thirty-four additional statutes to that end.[2] Between the last two councils, evidently recognizing the failure of the great Catechism, there was published in 1558, by authority of the primate, a little treatise of four pages, printed by John Scott in St. Andrews, and called a "Godlie Exhortatioun," or, popularly, "The Twa-penny Faith." It contained an explanation of the Lord's Supper, and an exhortation to communicating worthily, and was to be read by the clergy to the people previous to the celebration. Another intermediate incident was the Aberdeen memorial of 5th January, 1559, from the clergy there to their bishop, asking him, among other points of reform, to give personal heed to the seventh commandment. This was honest, for William Gordon was probably the blackest bishop of his generation.

The Council of 1559, which closed on 10th April, was appointed to meet again on Septuagesima Sunday next year; but before that date the Church was reformed from the opposite side, and the council never met.

Altogether apart from questions of doctrine, ritual, or church government (which come for consideration more fitly under the heading of the Reformed Church from 1560 onwards), it may be useful to put down articulately some of the chief causes that brought the old Church of Scotland to the deplorable and moribund condition which the Provincial Councils of 1549, 1552, and 1559 tried in vain to heal.

1. From an early period, especially in the reigns of Alexander II., Alexander III., and James I., there had been irritation and political danger from interference by the Pope as a foreign power.

2. Scotland suffered continual pecuniary drain and deepening corruption, by so many clerics seeking promotion from Rome, and paying for it there, like bidders at an auction.

[1] Bellesheim, ii. 211–219. [2] Ibid., ii. 240–252.

3. The celibacy of the clergy, as an institution against nature, led to common concubinage and worse, whereby they lost the respect of the people, and provoked ceaseless jibing and ridicule in talk and song.

4. The degradation of so many of the sisters and daughters of the secondary lairds as clerical mistresses, stirred the secret resentment of these insulted families against an order which, in defiance of the first principles of the Gospel, used its wealth to promote seduction and lust.

5. The civil government of Scotland was too clerical, especially in the reign of James V., who distinctly irritated the nobles by favouring the clergy as his advisers.

6. Marriage, which means the framework of civil society, was cumbered by canon law, which forbade it within eight degrees of consanguinity, and along with consanguinity counted the relation of godfather and godmother, which had nothing to do with bodily *sibness* at all. These needless restrictions gave occasion to dispensations which, by their multiplicity, were not only an impoverishing drain from the charges attending them, but led to strife and further pecuniary waste in contested successions, both to private property and hereditary offices.[1]

7. Clerics were not only responsible for an unworkably prohibitive marriage law, but were also arbiters of succession by means of the consistory courts of each bishop, drawing a fresh set of fees at this point, and pushing clerical influence into all property in one of its chief foundations—heredity.

8. The pecuniary pressure of the old Church was further felt in the extravagant powers possessed for collecting a full tithe, extending over the most recent improvements of both landlord and tenant, and including the first choice of grain from the harvest field. Still more oppressive were the death-dues, in the shape of the "kirk cow" and "the upmost claith," or best bed-cover, in the house of the bereaved for the priest. The doom of this abuse was sealed by Sir David Lindsay's "Satire of the Three Estates," especially the oft-quoted lines in act ii. scene 1, where three deaths in succession—father, mother, and wife—deprive a poor pendicler of his whole stock of "three kye, baith fat and fair."

[1] See a lawyer's view of this in Hill Burton, iii. 314

9. For a considerable period before the crisis of 1560 the richest livings in the Church, especially in abbeys and priories, were habitually conferred on bastards, royal and noble, or on court favourites, and these often mere children. Bishop Leslie names 1473 as the date of the origin of this abuse.[1]

10. A very widespread source of weakness to the Church in the best part of its system was the absorption of so many parochial livings by the monasteries, which degraded the rural clergy by fostering a cheap and ill-educated class of men, who got only a fraction of the living while they did the whole duty, so far as it was done, or could be done by them.

11. A special cause of loss of respect for the old Church was its extremely frequent use of "cursing" to terrify the people into payment of dues, or to make restitution, or to confirm their testimony, whereby the solemnities of discipline or excommunication became naturally the theme of mockery.[2]

12. The Church's cruelty in punishing heresy by fire alienated men's sympathy from bishops and abbots to their victims. The proof of this is seen in the contemporary narratives of the martyrdoms of Patrick Hamilton, Resby, Craw, Wishart, and Mill.

13. The "sharp statutes" of the three reforming councils of the old Church itself, in 1549, 1552, and 1559, are alleged by Bishop Leslie to have had the effect of driving over many of the younger clergy to the new Church of the Lords of the Congregation, where priests were permitted to marry.[3] The priests who crossed from the old Church to the new, whether from conviction or for convenience, or from the simple desire to abide among their parishioners as religious teachers, still were certainly a good many in number, and carried their ordination with them, and formed the nucleus of the Reformed Church of Scotland. Unfortunately we have no definite list of their names or parishes.

14. Not as a cause of weakness, but as a motive for assault, was the enormous wealth of the Church, which excited the

[1] See proof of this in Laing's "Lindores," pp. 110–111, who refers to Robertson's "Statuta," preface, p. 90, and onwards.

[2] See Hill Burton's reprint of the diabolical contents of the "Great Cursing," iii. 310, and also the rhyming curse of priest John Rowl against the robbers of his hens and garden, p. 322.

[3] See Hill Burton, end of chap. xxxvi.

covetousness of the Scots nobility, and led them effectively to combine for the Church's overthrow. Many were reformers for purity, but more were reformers for spoil, at least among the nobility and Parliament that carried the reform on 17th and 24th August, 1560.

The use of such a list of causes as the preceding is that it furnishes much common ground of fact and principle, on which both Romanist and Protestant can agree, and by narrowing the ground and range of controverted matter, tends towards clearness and also mildness regarding the essential points at issue, as between different branches of the Church. Those who deem everything Roman or prelatic *black* are perhaps further wrong than those who deem everything Protestant or Presbyterian *white*. Truth, charity, and wisdom are at their maximum in the middle space, and at their minimum at either extreme.

THE BETTER FEATURES OF THE ROMAN CHURCH.

The dates of our cathedrals, abbeys, and priories, chiefly from 1100 to 1400, show three centuries of wonderful activity in architecture—one of the noblest and most solid of the arts. All the more marvellous is the phenomenon as immediately following on the "creel-work," or oaken style, or boulder-stone work, of the Celtic Church. Expenditure so lavish, and all voluntary, is a clear index of fervour, liberality, taste, and orderliness. We know that travelling squadrons of masons, with skill far beyond mere craftsmen, moved from place to place accomplishing these great undertakings. Local tradition tells, *e.g.*, that the builders of St. Bride's of Douglas, with its gem of a belfry spirelet, came fresh from Glasgow Cathedral; while the ingeniously varied finials of the Roslin Chapel buttresses were the personal device of each craftsman in friendly competition one with another.

Though the Scottish kings, inheriting the spirit of St. Margaret, were the chiefest benefactors of the Church, yet large and steady accessions came from the higher clergy, who for several centuries, as a class, were self-denying and patriotic, especial patrons of agriculture and gardening, a taste which is traceable still in many a manse garden and orchard. Very

impressive are the remnants of monastic orchards, such as are still visible at Blantyre Priory or Cambuskenneth Abbey. Corresponding to the liberality of the Crown and clergy was that of the nobles and gentry, to whom mainly we are indebted for our humble parish churches and their endowment apart from taxation or compulsion. Free and devout gift was what made the Church in these centuries so rich and strong—too rich in fact, and too well provided with stately fanes, considering the rude dwellings of farmers and villagers. It is a great mistake and injustice to follow the ignorant prejudice of our extremer sects, and condemn the Roman Church with severity, except in its final century, or rather half-century, before the Reformation. How long the nobler tone of the old churchmen continued is evident from the date of our three pre-Reformation Universities—St. Andrews, 1411; Glasgow, 1450; Aberdeen, 1494. The princes of the Church could not have given heart and wealth to such a cause unless they had still been in the main worthy both of their preferment and of the Gospel itself.[1]

Scarce could there be a simpler or nobler testimony to certain good qualities in the old Church than is to be seen in the foundation of eighty-three hospitals, provided and endowed for wayfarers, and for the aged and sick. Every monastery, too, besides its special care of agriculture and fruit-trees, had an officer called *infirmarer*, whose skill was available for patients outside as well as inside the institution. These were the men who preserved to the world for centuries the knowledge of healing herbs. What a pleasant picture of these old ways and days we have in the character of Père Hugo, and his disciple Frère Wendolin, in the story of Uncle Balthasar, in the (modern and Protestant) "Legendes de l'Alsace!" At a later date monasteries had done their chief work, and were often retreats of lazy and gluttonous men; but at their first settlement, and for perhaps two centuries onward, they were primary and precious agents of culture, both material and moral—as true schools of Christian knowledge and virtue as the Celtic monasteries had been in a still ruder age.

[1] For an extremely interesting account of our old university life, especially at Glasgow and Aberdeen, the reader is referred to C. Innes's "Sketches," pp. 220-234.

WHERE DID THE OLD CHURCH WEALTH GO?

Each of the thirteen bishoprics was endowed, some of them liberally.[1] St. Andrews, when valued in 1561, had £2094; Glasgow, £987; Aberdeen, £1653; Moray, £2033; Brechin, £651; Caithness, £1283 (another account, £386); Ross, £462; Orkney, £539; Dunblane, £313; Dunkeld, £1407; Galloway, £1159—each having largely in addition lands and rents in kind. The Isles and Argyll were not reported with the rest in 1561, the cunning Earl of Argyll having seized the papers, so as to hide the exact amount of his sacrilege. But no absence of figures can obscure the fact that among the Argyll spoil are the three ecclesiastical islands of Iona, Lismore, and Tiree, at least. Some of the fifty provostries—*e.g.*, the Chapel Royal at Stirling, St. Giles', Edinburgh, Dalkeith, Linlithgow, Cadzow, and Biggar—were also liberally endowed. The eighty-three hospitals had each an endowment: while many were small, at least one-half were respectable, and quite distinct from the endowments of the parishes wherein they were situated. But the monasteries were the chief centres of rich endowment. Omitting the houses of the Begging Friars—many of which however, in spite of their name and profession, contrived to become wealthy—those of the Rented Religious were eighty in number, of whom thirty-two had seats in Parliament.

The total amount has been stated thus:—"The united income of the bishoprics, in money £13,000 Scots, together with 40 chalders 5 bolls of wheat, 416 chalders 14 bolls of barley, 302 chalders 11 bolls of meal, 137 chalders 5 bolls of oats, 28 chalders 9 bolls of malt, 286 kine and bullocks, 431 sheep, 87 dozen capons, 209½ dozen of poultry, 73 geese, 19 muir-fowl, 17 swine, 453 last 1 barrel of salmon, 30,000 scraw or dried unsalted fish.[2]

[1] An old valuation of twelve of the Scottish sees is given by Lyon, "St. Andrews," i. 97, copied from the Registry of the Priory, and presumably dating between 1200 and 1270, because it contains Argyll but not The Isles. "Aberdeen, £1610; Caithness, £286; Ross, £351; Moray, £1418; Argyll, £280; Galloway, £358; Brechin, £416; Dunblane, £507; Dunkeld, £1206; Glasgow, £4080; St. Andrews, £8018. The calculation is that £1 in the twelfth century would equal £5 at present."

[2] In the year 1563, the boll of wheat in Scotland averaged £2; the boll of barley, £1 13*s.* 4*d.*; the boll of malt, £2; oats, 10*s.*; a carcase of mutton, 9*s.*; a goose, 1*s.*; a dozen of capons, 12*s.*; a dozen of poultry, 4*s.*; a stone of cheese, 6*s.* 8*d.*; a swine, £1; a kid, 1*d.*; a barrel of salmon, £4.

"The abbeys and other religious houses drew annually about £42,000 Scots, with 268 chalders 14 bolls of wheat, 1198 chalders of barley, 1315 chalders 6 bolls of meal, 591 chalders 3 bolls of oats, 30 chalders 1 boll of malt, 65 marts, 52 mutton, 387 dozen capons, 948 dozen poultry, 239 barrels salmon, 1054 stone of cheese, 146 stone of butter—exclusive of the receipts for masses and indulgences, and other dues."[1]

Calculated at the above rates for 1563, the bishops' payments in kind equalled £20,861, while the monastic payments in kind equalled £57,091—so that the gross value of the thirteen bishoprics was £13,000 + £20,861 = £33,861; and the gross value of the revenues of the religious houses, £42,000 + £57,091 = £99,091.

Another very satisfactory way of measuring the wealth of the Church, independently of money and chalders, is to remember the old understanding of the Scottish kings in raising taxes, an understanding habitually acted on with the consent of the two parties concerned—viz. that when a given sum of money had to be raised, one-half of it was undertaken by the Church and the other half by the nobles and burghers. We may be quite sure that such a division of taxation would not have been accepted quietly by the spiritual lords had there not been good reason for agreeing to a full half.

Undoubtedly this enormous mass of property was one great motive of the nobles and gentry in turning against the Roman Church and favouring reform. No less clear is it that this wealth was wasted among the most greedy and unprincipled men of that age, instead of being used for the benefit of the old tenants on the church lands, or to re-endow church, school, college, infirmary, almshouse, and orphanage.

The first element of the dispersion consisted in this, that for two or three decades previous to 1560 there went on a deliberate and unprincipled system of what was called *dilapidation* of church property of all kinds. Bishops, deans, provosts, preceptors, abbots, and priors, foreseeing danger to the Church, put their houses in order by giving leases to relatives and favourites on terms that amounted to robbery and breach of

[1] Fittis's "Ecclesiastical Annals of Perth," 74, where reference is made to Lawson's "Popular History of the Reformation in Scotland," 7, 254, 264, and to Bishop Keith's History, Appendix, 180.

trust, called more politely dilapidation. Two of the most flagrant offenders were Bishop Patrick Hepburn of Moray, already mentioned, with his thirteen concubines, and Bishop William Chisholm of Dunblane, who enriched his three bastard children and his nephew, Sir James Chisholm of Cromlix, at the expense of the see. This knave compounded for his dishonesty by a double portion of zeal against heresy. In 1539 he and Beaton condemned five men to the flames at Edinburgh.

The grand spoliation, however, followed 1560, and it is only admitting the truth to acknowledge, as Roman Catholics say, that the Reformation was due as much, perhaps, to hope of plunder as to zeal for Scriptural doctrine or preference of a simpler ritual. Nothing could be baser afterwards than the conduct of the nobles, gorged with church lands, towards the starving Reformed clergy. The same policy of greed and ingratitude forms the chief explanation of the execrable churches built during the whole of last century. It is true that the art of architecture was in a large measure lost, but the loss arose more perhaps from miserly starvation than from real ignorance. Long before the Reformation, the original use of monasteries had been served, and they had come to be regarded as idle superfluities. Laymen were in part appointed to them as rulers instead of monks, and even boys became nominal church dignitaries. After 1560 it was no great change when mitred abbacies and priories were transformed by a little varnish of law into temporal lordships, so that scores of the very best estates in Scotland went to men who had never done any service to Church or State further than that they had some Court influence, or were powerful enough to help themselves. In this way a large proportion of the proprietorship of Scotland rests on a basis utterly rotten and fraudulent; not on natural succession, honest purchase, military service, conquest in war, or reclamation of waste, but on violence, knavery, favouritism, and servility. Had it happened more generally as it did in Lanarkshire and Renfrewshire, where the old Church rentallers became proprietors of their farms, paying as teinds what they used to pay as rent, it would have been a mighty boon to the country by multiplying the useful and independent class of small and middle class landholders. But when vast masses of

church property were handed over without any reasonable consideration, to aggrandize men whose territorial position, in most cases, was already good, or too good, the enrichment became a curse, retarding liberty, prosperity, culture, and agriculture. This is really what is meant when the hateful names of commendator and temporal lordship are found attached after 1560 to any of the old monasteries.

What Dr. Lees says of "Paisley Abbey" (p. 228) is of general application:—"The blow came not from the people, but from the aristocracy. The idea that the common people had become so instructed in the truths of Scripture as to abhor the doctrines of the papacy, is far from being historically correct. They were too ignorant to read Scripture, far less to understand abstruse theological disquisitions; but they had little respect for their clergy, and were more ready to follow their laird than their priest. The laird had everything to gain by favouring the new doctrines—the abbey lands, so much richer than his own, afforded too tempting a bribe, and poor proprietors like Sempill [father of the primate's concubine] saw an easy way to fortune, by an appropriation of the Church revenues. The manner in which the Church property was gifted away forms a scandalous episode in the history of Scotland. Men like Claud Hamilton [the last abbot and nephew of the primate], who never had done anything for their country, became enriched and ennobled through the spoliation. It is vain to picture regretfully what might have been; but anyone can see how much better it would have been for Scotland if the whole community, instead of a few unworthy individuals, had got the benefit of the Church's wealth. Those who did get it have, in too many instances, made a very miserable use of their ill-gotten gain."

Here are twenty samples taken at random of the scattering of church lands, and the value of the money attached to the respective monasteries, with still greater values of rent in kind:—

Kelso, £2495. Sir Robert Kerr of Cessford.
Kilwinning, £880. Earl of Eglinton.
Londores, £2240. Lord Londores, son of Earl of Rothes.
Culross, £768. Lord Colville of Culross.
Newbottle, £1413. Mark Ker, Lord Newbottle.
Cambuskenneth, £930. John, earl of Mar.

Inchaffray, £666. James, Lord Maderty.
Blantyre, £131. Walter Stewart, lord Blantyre, son of Earl of Minto.
Monymusk, £400. Forbes of Monymusk.
Pittenweem, £412. Colonel Stuart and his son Lord Pittenweem.
Lesmahago, £104. James Cunningham in 1561. Barony in 1607.
Arbroath, £2553. Lord Claud Hamilton.
Coldingham, £898. Alexander Hume of Maunderston.
Balmerino, £704. Sir James Elphinstone, lord Balmerino.
Cupar-Angus, £1886. Stewart of Atholl.
Deir, £572. Robert Keith, son of Earl Marischal.
Dundrennan, £500. Robert Maxwell, son of Lord Herries.
Kynloss, £1152. Baron Bruce of Kynloss, earl of Elgin.
Melrose, £1758. James Douglas.
New Abbey, £212. Sir Robert Spottiswood, lord New Abbey.

In many instances, something very like a curse seems to have attached to these sacrilegious lordships. At least the proverb was fulfilled that ill-gotten gear has not thriven; what came with the wind has gone with the water, or, as the Scripture proverb has it, "an inheritance may be gotten hastily at the beginning; but the end thereof shall not be blessed."[1] Certainly such acquisition of property tends to render all landed estates insecure by dissociating them from heritage, thrift, virtue, and valour. Seeing that perhaps one-half of the land of this country within the last 300 years has passed through so degraded a history as the foundation of present titles, the modern and popular impatience of game, rack-renting, political dictation, and general conceit of land-owners, is not so unreasonable as it seems at first sight. The chief unreasonableness is when the more ignorant and sectarian of our lower orders form new schemes of church robbery under the name of religious equality, without proposing to raise a count and reckoning with those old offenders, who neither earned nor inherited their share to begin with; who hold a larger share by far than the present Church of Scotland; and who for three centuries past have rendered no service, either sacred or civil, in return for their appropriations.

[1] This principle of retribution has been traced in detail in twenty-six cases within the diocese of St. Andrews by Lyon in his "Hist.," ii. 400–406, in appendix 55, under the title "Punishment of Sacrilege within the Diocese of St. Andrews," where it is clearly shown from the history of the Scottish peerage and baronage that sacrilege was punished in the present life, and *chiefly* by the failure of male issue. The continuous line of historic proof in plague-stricken families is certainly very remarkable, and the article concludes by quoting the Marquis of Strafford's words to his eldest son, immediately before his execution: "I charge you never to meddle with the revenues of the Church; for the curse of God will follow all who do."

BOOK III.

FROM THE REFORMATION TO THE REVOLUTION.

CHAPTER XIV.

Pre-Reformation documents—The Order of Geneva—The Confession of Faith of the English at Geneva—Distribution of the chief reform ministers among the burghs—Calvin's Catechism—Other Catechisms—Consummation of the Scottish Reformation by the Parliament—Prohibition of the mass—The first Confession of the Reformed Church—The First Book of Discipline—The official persons of the new Church—The education section of the First Book—Abolition and re-adoption of ordination by laying on of hands—The early Assemblies—State of the Church at the end of fourteen years—Mary Queen of Scots—Her return from France—Marriage to Darnley—Murder of Rizzio—Her resignation—Escape from Lochleven—Battle of Langside—Her flight to England, and execution—Regents Moray, Lennox, and Mar—Death of John Knox.

HAVING already shown in detail the causes that led to the overthrow, in 1560, of the Church established in Scotland by St. Margaret and St. David in the end of the eleventh and beginning of the twelfth century, we are free at once to enter on an account of the constitution and career of the Church that succeeded it; for there was no interval between the two —the suppression of the one and the substitution of the other being the work of the same Parliament, and even of the same day. In dealing with the four and a half centuries of the Roman period of the Church, a careful endeavour has been made to give distinct and hearty praise where praise seemed due, and to avoid all vague railing and prejudice against doctrine or ritual on the mere ground of being Roman. This is the only fair method of historical criticism—where there is blame as to impurity of life or irregularity of appointments to office, carefully to define the period and extent of such. Similarly, where doctrine is concerned, to specify what is considered erroneous, and at the same time give the Church due credit for that very large proportion of sound doctrine which is honestly held and taught. In dealing with the form of the Church of Scotland to which we now come, we propose to act

on the same principles, giving an accurate narrative of events, without attempting to conceal or defend things weak or wrong, but rather to point them out, not for attack, but as simply disapproving them and marking them to serve as warnings. In this way we are able to give effect to certain of the criticisms of both Roman Catholics and Episcopalians, in so far as they are solid and definite, and not merely partisan and routine.

Several years before the actual accomplishment of the Reformation in Scotland in August, 1560, we find in existence and public use a Book of Common Order, often called The Order of Geneva, identical in its main elements with that which was formally approved in 1564, in an edition which has since then been recognized as the standard one. It will be convenient to trace the book backward from 1564 to its earliest known form in Latin, dated 1st September, 1554, at Frankfort, and used there by Knox in the congregation of English refugees.

The General Assembly, 26th December, 1564, ordained "that everie minister, exhorter, and reader sall have one of the Psalme Bookes latelie printed in Edinburgh, and use the order contained therein in prayers, marriage, and ministration of the sacraments."

"In the generall assemblie convened at Edinburgh in December, 1562, for printing of the psalmes the Kirk lent Rob. Lickprivick, printer, twa hundredth pounds, to help to buy irons, ink, and papper, and to fie craftsmen for printing." In the same Assembly it was concluded, "that an uniforme Order sould be keeped in ministration of the sacraments, solemnization of marriages, and burial of the dead, according to the Booke of Geneva."

The First Book of Discipline, framed in 1560, expressly approves of the Order of Geneva, which it calls "our Book of Common Order," and mentions its being "used in some of our churches" previous to that period. An English edition of the Order of Geneva was printed at Geneva in 1556 with a preface dated "at Geneva the 10th of February, anno 1556." This date of 10th February, 1556, at Geneva, is of special importance as the real beginning of Knox's Liturgy and also of the Confession of Faith, as is seen in a prayer which immediately follows the preface:—"A prayer made at the first Assembly

of the English Church at Geneva, when the Confession of Faith and whole Orders were there read and approved." Another English edition of the Book of Common Order was printed at Geneva in 1558.

Besides emphasizing the two dates, 1556 and 1564, that mark the first Geneva edition and the first Scottish edition of our Book of Common Order, we require to take note of a frightful disfigurement and degradation that the book suffered in 1565 and 1567 by the *addition* to it, first, of a treatise on fasting, and next of a form of excommunication, the former in the spirit of grumbling and gloom, the latter in the spirit of cruelty and persecution—these two additions being as bulky as the original book itself! The preface of a Latin translation of the Liturgy of the English Church at Frankfort is dated 1st September, 1554, and the prayers are identical with those in the Order of Geneva. In November, 1554, Knox began his ministry in Frankfort, and the Order of Geneva so translated was a version of that used by Calvin there.

Another of our pre-Reformation documents, but closely associated with the Geneva editions (1556 and 1558) of the Book of Common Order, is "The Confession of Faith used in the English Congregation at Geneva." It is traceable to 1554, and is divided into four parts, which are a paraphrase of the Creed on the persons of the Trinity, and on the Church. This earliest of our Scots Confessions is really the best of them all, being shorter, simpler, closer to the terms and arrangement of the Creed, and with less disfigurement by violent abuse of the Pope than the Confession of 1560. Some editions of the Book of Common Order do not contain the Geneva Confession, perhaps from consideration that an equivalent is provided within the book itself in "Ane Exposition of the Creed," which forms part of the "Order of Baptism," and runs in four parts parallel with the Confession on the Trinity and the Church. This exposition, again, did not exist in the original Geneva editions. The exposition is plainly and well done, without any railing at "the man of sin" or the "idolatries" of the Roman Church; but although unobjectionable in matter, style, or spirit, it is entirely unsuited for insertion as part of a baptismal order, because, filling six octavo pages, it is far less simple than the

Apostles' Creed, which it drowns in verbiage, by furnishing, in fact, still another Confession of Faith, to the confusion and injury of those of 1556 and of 1560.

Besides the Book of Common Order and the Geneva Confession, a third point wherein the Reformation was anticipated was that on 19th July, 1560, at a solemn thanksgiving in St. Giles' (three days after the French and English left Leith according to treaty), the chief ministers of the party of the Lords of the Congregation were distributed among the burghs, showing that the Reformed already counted the land as theirs now that the French troops were gone, and that the chief nobles adhered to the Reform and had the sympathy of Queen Elizabeth besides. Spottiswoode (i. 325) says:—"John Knox was appointed to serve at Edinburgh, Christopher Goodman at St. Andrews, Adam Heriot at Aberdeen, John Row at Perth, William Christison at Dundee, David Ferguson at Dunfermline, Paul Methven at Jedburgh, and Mr. David Lindesay at Leith. Besides these they did nominate for the direction of Church affairs some to be superintendents, as Mr. John Spottiswoode for Lothian and Merse, Mr. John Winram for Fife, and John Erskine of Dun for Angus and Mearns, Mr. John Willock for Glasgow, and Mr. John Kerswel for Argyle and Isles. With this small number was the plantation of the Church at first undertaken." The boldness of this action, while the old Church was still legally intact, is even more striking than the fewness of the clergy thus distributed. The mighty self-confidence implied in this anticipatory procedure may have been what struck dismay into the spiritual lords on 17th and 24th August, a month later.

Closely connected with the Book of Common Order and Confession of Geneva of 1556 is the English translation of Calvin's Catechism, in the same year. It is thus alluded to in 1560 in the Book of Discipline:—"After noone must the young children be publicly examined in their Catechism, in the audience of the people; in doing whereof the minister must take great diligence, as well to cause the people understand the questions proponed as the answers, and the doctrine that may be collected thereof: the order to be kept in teaching the Catechism and how much of it is appointed for every Sonday, is already distinguished in

the Catechism printed with the Book of our Common Order; which Catechism is the most perfect that ever yet was used in the Kirk."[1] The copies in use in 1560 and 1559, and earlier, were the Geneva edition of 1556. The first Scottish reprint was in 1564. The first edition in French, with question and answer, was printed by Calvin at Strasburg in 1541—the earliest draft, printed at Basel in March, 1538, being a mere doctrinal compend drawn from the "Institutiones." Luther's first Catechism was published in 1529; and the earliest of all Reformed Catechisms was that of Brentius in 1526. In the French Church, Calvin's Catechism was bound up with the New Testament, the metrical psalms and tunes, Church prayers, forms of baptism, and the Lord's Supper, and a confession of faith in forty short sections. The Catechism was divided into fifty-five Sunday parts, thus apportioned:—1–20, the creed; 21–33, the commands; 34–44, the Lord's prayer; 45–55, the sacraments. Thus the original teaching of the Church of Scotland adhered to the simpler line of the Creed instead of founding on a stiff theological system, as is done in questions 1–38 in the Westminster Shorter Catechism. Another advantage of Calvin's Catechism was its adherence to the more Christian view of the fourth commandment, before the Puritans revived the Judaistic ideas, and gave currency to a name that had been laid aside for fifteen centuries, because destitute of Christian reference. In Calvin's Catechism there are altogether 373 questions, compared with 107 in the Shorter Catechism. The latter has the advantage of better adaptation to being committed to memory, besides its smaller size; but the former is more free, thoughtful, and suggestive, and might profitably be again put into use for the training of youth in Bible classes, as a guide in exposition without the requirement of committing to memory.

The Reformation of the Church in Scotland was consummated on the 24th August, 1560, by the Scottish Parliament. The gist of what was done on that momentous day consisted in four particulars:—(1) Sanctioning of a certain new Creed or Confession of Faith; (2) abolition of Papal jurisdiction in Scotland; (3) repeal of former statutes in favour of the Roman

[1] Chap. xi. § 3.

Church; (4) abolition of the mass, and punishment for the hearers and sayers of mass. The abolition of Papal jurisdiction in Scotland was a measure clearly justifiable on political grounds, as indispensable for complete national independence; but it was on religious grounds that the Reformers would themselves mainly have rested as their reason. The repeal of former statutes in favour of the Roman Church was a simple matter of necessity, in the circumstances, after the adoption of a New Confession of Faith and a reorganization of the Church. The last of the four Acts was entirely unjustifiable in both of its parts, and particularly the latter prescribing punishment. To prohibit altogether the celebration of mass was a gross act of religious intolerance, hindering the celebration of the Lord's Supper by a large body of Christians in the way that had been in use for centuries, and which approved itself to their consciences as agreeable to Scripture. It was in vain that the Reformed chose to employ strong language and call the mass idolatry. Even if it had been idolatry, neither Church nor Parliament had any right to hinder idolatry except by argument. The cry of idolatry was raised mainly to enable the Reformed to fall back on the Old Testament, for the help of severe measures which in different circumstances once had Divine sanction, but which no Christian body is now entitled to plead under any circumstances. All who said mass or dared to hear it, for the first transgression were to be punished with confiscation of goods; for the second, with banishment from the kingdom; for the third, with death. This is of a piece with the worst that can be said of the Spanish Inquisition. The real object of this barbarous legislation was so thoroughly to root out Romanism that no reaction in its favour might endanger the stability of the Reformed Church.

On the Act of 24th August, 1560, prohibiting the mass under pain of confiscation, banishment, and death, Dr. George Cook[1] justly observes—"Over this statute every friend to true religion, to the influence of the mild spirit of Christianity, and to the sacred rights of men, would wish to cast a veil. It too plainly shows that the worst part of popery had not been taken from the hearts of those who so vehemently opposed it. . . .

[1] "History of the Reformation," ii. 336, 2nd edition.

There is something in the tendency which all sects have shown to draw the sword of persecution most humbling and disgraceful to human nature."

This Confession of Faith is important as the earliest such document in the Reformed Church of Scotland, and as received at once by Parliament—in fact, at their own special request, having been drawn up by the chief reforming clergymen. The work was done in four days, and was approved by Parliament on the 17th August. A draft of the Confession was probably made previous to this date. We know that before being submitted to Parliament it was privately gone over by Maitland and the Lord James Stuart, and toned down in some of its expressions, while one paragraph was omitted on the duty of subjects to the civil power.

This Confession continued from 1560 to 1647 the recognized standard of the Church of Scotland, and the greatest battles the Church ever waged were fought under it. Its noble spirit is patent from one sentence of its preface:—"We conjure you if any man will note in this our Confession any article or sentence repugnant to God's Holy Word, that it would please him of his gentleness, and for Christian charity's sake, to admonish us of the same in writing; and we, upon our honour and fidelity, do promise him satisfaction from the Holy Scriptures, or due reformation of that which he shall prove to be amiss."

The titles of the twenty-five chapters of the Scottish Confession of 1560 (ratified in 1567 under Regent Moray, and recognized as a standard in the Test Act of 1681) are:—

Of God. The Creation of Man. Original Sin. The Revelation of the Promises. The Continuance, Increase, and Preservation of His Church. The Incarnation of Christ Jesus. Why it behoveth the Mediator to be very God and very Man. Election. Christ's Death, Passion, Burial, &c. Resurrection. Ascension. Faith in the Holy Ghost. The Cause of Good Works. What Works are reputed Good before God. The Perfection of the Law and the Imperfection of Man. The Church. The Immortality of the Soul. The Notes by which the True Church is discerned from the False, and who shall be Judge of the Doctrine. The Authority of the Scriptures. General Councils: their Power, Authority, and Cause of their Convention. The Sacraments. The Right Administration of the Sacraments. To whom Sacraments appertain. Of the Civil Magistrate. The Gifts freely given to the Church.

As its character is fully examined in our dissertation on the Doctrine of the Church, we need enlarge on it no further here.

So early as the 29th April, 1560 (nearly four months previous to the legalizing of the Reformation), a commission was given by the great Council of Scotland to five distinguished churchmen to draw up a "Book of Discipline"—viz. Knox, Spottiswood, Winram,[1] Willock, and Row—added to whom, at the subscribing of the completed work, was Douglas—all six bearing the same Christian name of John. The title-page runs: "The First Book of Discipline, or the Policie and Discipline of the Church, drawn up by Mr. John Winram, &c., . . . and presented to the Nobilitie anno 1560, and afterwards subscribed by the Kirk and Lords." It was completed 29th May, and has the peculiarity of having been accepted by the General Assembly, but not by the Parliament, as the Confession of Faith had been. Appended to it are thirty-three of the best and noblest names in Scotland of that day, headed by James, duke of Chatelherault, and his eldest son, James Hamilton, earl of Arran, followed by the Earl of Argyll and the "Good Regent" Moray. These signed it in their individual capacity, but the number and quality of the names in point of weight fall little short of formal parliamentary sanction. The signing was accompanied by a condition alike kindly and statesmanlike: "Providing that the bishops, abbots, priors, and other prelates and beneficed men which els have adjoined themselves to us, bruik [retain] the revenues of their benefices during their lifetimes, they sustaining and upholding the ministry and ministers as herein specified, for the preaching of the Word and ministering of the sacraments." The First Book of Discipline occupies about fifty-six octavo pages, while the Second (in 1578) has the merit of having only about twenty. It is a great defect of every one of these early documents that they enter far too much into regulation of every detail, and on account of this tediousness have never been much read, at least popularly.[2]

[1] For history and character of Winram, see Lee, "Hist. of Ch. of Scot.," i. 87, and Appendix v.

[2] Two reprints, in 1836 and 1853, of the First Book of Discipline erroneously state that it was finally agreed on by the General Assembly of 1581 and registered in the Acts of the Kirk. This applies only to the Second Book, drawn up in 1578, and it is absurd or fraudulent to regard the latter as a mere revisal of the former, which the above method of reckoning seems to point at.

For our purpose here, the important part of the First Book of Discipline is that which deals with the official persons who were to do the work of God in the new system. The striking feature is, that we are not presented with a fine-spun theory, drawn, or supposed to be drawn, from the New Testament, but with a plan adapted to existing wants, to tide over the difficulties of the period, and ripen in due time to something better. The official persons of the Church were the five following: ministers, readers, superintendents, elders, deacons.

Every congregation had a right to call its own *minister;* but if the election was neglected forty days, the Church might present a man apt to feed the flock, who was to be examined not only concerning his knowledge, but also concerning his life and manners. By far the strangest point touching ministers is, that ordination by laying on of hands was deliberately laid aside; but in a few years this extreme step was altered—"Other ceremonie than the public approbation of the people and declaration of the chief minister (or of him who presideth on this occasion) that the person there presented is appointed to serve the Church we cannot approve; for albeit the apostles used imposition of hands, yet, seeing the miracle is ceased, the using of the ceremonie we judge not necessarie." This fact speaks only too plainly of the vehemence and thoroughness of the Scottish Reformers in rejecting the old priestly superstitions where great change was needed, sometimes changing too much.

The *reader* was an interim substitute for a fully trained clergyman, so long as the clergy were scarce. He did not baptize, or marry, or celebrate the communion, but in certain cases he conducted the ordinary service of the church—a matter then more easy, inasmuch as a printed prayer-book was in regular use. In dealing with Scripture, the reader was allowed to add a few words explanatory or hortative; but he was cautioned not to be too long, nor to attempt preaching properly so called. A trace of this early office still meets us in the popular name of *lectern* or *lettern*, applied to the precentor's desk. The office itself still survives in the Swiss Church, and partly in the Church of England, where the lessons are often read by laymen. A large proportion of our country churches, for some time after

the Reformation, had readers only, who were also the first schoolmasters. In 1567 there were 455 readers and 151 exhorters to 257 ministers, and in 1574 there were 715 readers to 289 ministers. In 1581 their abolition was voted by the General Assembly, but they lingered on long in many remote places.

Originally the *elders* and *deacons* were subjected to a yearly election, lest by long continuance in office they should presume to encroach upon the liberty of the Church.

By far the most remarkable of the early offices is that of *superintendent*. There were to be ten superintendents, for the following stations or dioceses:—Orkney, Ross, Argyll, Aberdeen, Brechin, Fife, Edinburgh, Jedburgh, Glasgow, Dumfries. But only five of the ten were ever filled—viz. Winram, Fife; Willock, Glasgow; Carswell, Argyll; Erskine of Dun, Brechin; Spottiswoode (father of the archbishop), Lothian. Row at Dumfries was called commissioner, but his settled duty was at Perth. Row was appointed minister of Perth in July, 1560, by the Committee of Parliament, at the same time that Knox was appointed to Edinburgh, Ferguson to Dunfermline, Goodman to St. Andrews, Christison to Dundee, and Heriot to Aberdeen. The special work of the superintendent was the planting of kirks and providing ministers or readers. They were to remain in no place above twenty days in their visitation till they passed through their whole bounds; to preach at least thrice weekly, both when travelling and when at their principal station, where they must not stay more than three or four months at a time. Winram was very often accused of negligence, especially in preaching and visiting churches, yet he held his office to the last. Willock was an Englishman, and voluntarily returned to England afterwards. Erskine of Dun died in 1591. Goodman was an Englishman. Adam Heriot was previously a monk of the priory of St. Andrews. Row had previously officiated as a priest at Perth.

It is noteworthy that in describing the superintendent's sphere of duty the Book of Discipline distinctly uses the word *diocese* eleven times over, thus:—"The names of the places of residence and severall diocesses of the superintendents. The superintendent of Orkney, whose diocese shall comprehend

. . . The superintendent of Rosse, whose diocese shall comprehend . . . The superintendent of Argyll, whose diocese" . . . and so on to the tenth at Dumfries.

The main question as to these superintendents is as to their relation to bishops. The name is evidently a translation of ἐπίσκοπος (overseer), "bishop" being the word itself without translation. Also the duties are kindred to episcopal—viz. charge of a number of churches and churchmen in a given district, together with more ample income (but still small).[1] There the resemblance ends; it fails in all that is most essential in either Roman or Anglican bishops. There was no special consecration beyond that of ordinary ministers; and one of the five superintendents (Erskine of Dun) was only a layman when appointed, being a well-educated and devout country gentleman. They were liable to be called to account by the General Assembly, which was composed only of ordinary ministers and elders. In point of fact, the superintendents were not very useful or successful, but the plan was one that seemed very reasonable for setting the new ecclesiastical machinery in motion.[2]

While the originally intended number of superintendents never was completed, a kindred class of men, under the name of *visitors* or *commissioners,* was created alongside of superintendents. These commissioners or visitors had lesser districts assigned to them, and they were not held bound to reside in their district. Thus in 1574, while only one superintendent appears, there are six commissioners. In 1578, commissioners are twenty-four in number; next year, twenty-five; and next again, twenty-six. The six commissioners of 1574 are—James

[1] "It was thought that every minister should have *at least* 40 bolls meal and 26 bolls malt, to find his house bread and drink, and more, so much as the discretion of the Church might find necessary, besides money for procuring provision for his house and other necessaries. . . . To the superintendent it was thought that (6 chalders) 96 bolls of barley, (9 chalders) 144 bolls of meal, (3 chalders) 48 bolls of oats, and 600 merks of money, to be eiked and paired at the discretion of the Prince and Council of the realm, should be paid in the same manner."—*Principal Lee,* "*Hist.,*" i. 163–4.

[2] Principal Lee ("Hist.," i. 190) says: "The fact is, that the name of superintendents was immediately borrowed from the Church of England, the most eminent members of which, in the reign of Edward VI., were anxious to establish Church government on the model of Geneva, and to declare the office of bishop and presbyter to be the same. . . . Cranmer declared that 'by the Scripture a bishop or priest needeth not consecration, election being sufficient;' and Bishops Latimer, Hooper, Pilkington, and Jewel have recorded their conviction of the identity of the offices of bishops and priests."

Annand, for Orkney; Gilbert Foulsy, for Zetland; Robert Grahame, Caithness; Donald Munro, Ross; George Hay, Aberdeen and Banff; Andro Hay, Cliddisdail, Rainfrew, and Levenax or Lennox.

Probably the ablest division of the Book of Discipline is chap. vii., entitled "Of Schools and Universities"—a section which is of special value for its sound theory of middle or grammar schools, and is supposed to have been written by Winram and John Douglas, who were specially qualified. "Of necessitie, therefore, we judge it that every several kirk have one schoolmaster appointed, such a one at least that is able to teach grammar and the Latin tongue, if the town be of any reputation. If it be upland, where the people convene to the doctrine but once in the week, then must either the reader or the minister there appointed take care of the children and youth of the parish, to instruct them in the first rudiments, especially in the Catechisme, as we have it now translated in the Booke of the Common Order, called the Order of Geneva. And furder, we think it expedient that in every notable town, and especially in the town of the superintendent, there be erected a colledge in which the arts, at least logick and rhetorick, together with the tongues, be read by sufficient masters, for whom honest stipends must be appointed: as also that provision be made for those that be poore and not able by themselves nor by their friends to be sustained at letters, and in speciall these that come from landward."

These enlightened plans regarding education were hindered mainly by the avarice of the nobility, who seized on the patrimony of the Church, intended by the Reformers for worship, teaching, and the poor. On this point Principal Lee well says:[1] "If the Reformers had been allowed to carry their plans into execution, a great proportion of the rents of the bishoprics would have been applied to the support of literary institutions, as well as to the due sustentation of the parochial clergy. Their destination of these funds was indeed intercepted by the avarice of men of power; but though the enlightened views which they had endeavoured to impress

[1] Hist. i. 200.

upon the Parliament were thus frustrated, it is certainly most unfair to charge upon the Reformers the discredit of an effect to which they not only did not contribute, but which they laboured strenuously to counteract. They had the best interests of learning deeply at heart; and if their counsel had been followed, no country in the world would have been so well supplied as Scotland with the means of extending the benefits of a liberal education to every man capable of intellectual improvement."

In connection with the First Book of Discipline in relation to the Church polity of 1560, compared with questions that subsequently arose and developments that took place, it is of great importance to note the grave and unquestionable blunder that was made in discarding ordination by laying on of hands, in favour of a mere call from a number of people regarded as a congregation. The blunder was soon discovered and permanently corrected, and there was this palliation for the mistake, that in most cases no ordination was required, because so many of the first preachers were already in orders as priests.

Another important and kindred point is that the Reformed Church did not start with any theory of parity, but deliberately in duty, authority, and stipend, although not in distinct ordination or consecration, recognized certain churchmen above others—superintendents above ministers, and ministers above exhorters and readers. Unhappily this elasticity, suggested by nature and reason, was soon abandoned in order to simplify the struggle against a system intended to increase the inequality and to make or borrow a separate framework to fit it. Had the original inequality been maintained, it would have proved extremely useful, especially in recent days, as a great improvement on the slow and cumbrous government and administration of departments of church work by committees. Altogether there seems to have been early dissatisfaction with the Book as both tedious and ill-arranged, for so early as 1567, or immediately after, we find in twenty sections "ane schort somme of the Buik of Disciplin for the instruction of ministers and reidaris in thair office."

Some of the details of the early meetings of the General

Assembly are remarkable. The custom was to meet *twice* a year, in June and December, the December meeting being on the 25th—Christmas Day—expressly to thwart observance of it according to Roman usage. At the first General Assembly, on 20th December, 1560, held in the Church of St. Mary Magdalene, in the Cowgate of Edinburgh, there were only forty-two members, of whom only six are named as ministers. The first seven Assemblies had no president or moderator. It was on Christmas, 1563, that it was first agreed to have a moderator in future. George Buchanan—the chief of Scottish scholars, a member of the Assembly of 1564, one of six commissioners in the Assembly of 1565, and moderator of that of 1567—was not a layman, as commonly represented, but in virtue of his office as Principal of St. Leonard's College, St. Andrews, minister of the parish as well as Principal, and Professor of Divinity.

Nor was there at first any definite mode of calling an Assembly. The fourth General Assembly, in June, 1562, consisted only of five superintendents and thirty-two other members. In June, 1563, an Assembly met at Perth. These very meagre meetings tell their own tale as to the absence of postage for sending messages to distant clergymen, and as to the difficulty and cost of travelling—not to speak of danger—in the unsettled state of the country. Most of all, these thin meetings indicate that there were many parishes yet altogether unprovided with ministers. No proportion was as yet fixed as to ministers' and elders' seats. Apparently barons and lairds were allowed to sit simply on the ground of property and friendliness to the new order of things. The original dearth of clergy in the newly reformed Church is seen from the fact that only forty-three persons, lay or clerical, besides the forty-two members of the Assembly of 1560, could be counted up as suitable for ministers or readers throughout the country. But within seven years, such was the progress made, there were about 257 ministers, 151 exhorters, and 455 readers, with five superintendents, labouring in the Church. Nearly all these early ministers had previously been priests, and year by year they saw their way to cast in their lot with the Reformers. "As the most part of the canons, monks, and

friars within the realm had made profession of 'the true religion,' they were enjoined to serve as readers."[1]

The organization of the Church in 1574[2] shows 988 churches, arranged under 303 heads, with 289 ministers, 715 readers—places of 20 ministers and 97 readers vacant—in all, 1121 persons. This register is arranged in the old dioceses, but arbitrarily subdivided into groups of three to six parishes—the diocese of Glasgow showing subdivision into the old deaneries.

The real state of the Church at this period—when reform had been accomplished and maintained for above a dozen years, but before strife had arisen as to bishops and presbyters—is best seen by taking three districts which subsequently corresponded to the presbyteries of Auchterarder, Dalkeith, and Paisley, and observing the relation of the parishes, where the primary parish is provided with a *minister*, who has charge of certain other parishes that have only a *reader*.

Where there are fifteen parishes at present in the presbytery of Auchterarder there were in 1574 only four ministers and sixteen readers, thus grouped:—Auchterardour, stipend £100 and kirk-lands, had readers at Auchterardour, Kinkell, Abirruthven, and Dunnyng. Strogeith, £60 and kirk-lands, had readers at Strogeith, Muthill, and Strowane. Foulis, £80 and kirk-lands, had readers at Foulis, Madertie, Trinitegask, and Findogask. Tulichettil, £100 and kirk-lands, had readers at Tullichettil, Cumrie, Monivaird, Monzie, and Crieff.

The presbytery of Dalkeith, presently possessing twenty-two parishes old and new, stood thus in 1574:—Pentland, stipend £67 and kirk-lands, had readers at Pentland, Pennycuik, and Montlowthyane. Newbotil, £100, had reader at Newbotil. "Malvile needs na reidare." Dalkeith, £64 and kirk-lands, had readers at Dalkeith, Lesuaid, and Glencors. Cokpen, £123 and kirk-lands, had readers at Cokpen, Caringtoun, Clerkingtoun, and Tempill. Heriot, £125, had readers at Heriot, Borthwik, and Stow. Ormestoun, £126, had readers at Ormestoun, Salton, Pencaitland, Keith-Mershall, and Keith-Humbye. Inneresk, £126, had readers at Inneresk, Natoun, and Cranstoun.

[1] "Bk. of the Universal Kirk."

[2] As detailed in Register of Ministers and Readers in *Miscellany*, *Wodrow Soc.*, pp. 319–396.

Creichtoun, £133, had readers at Creichtoun, Sowtray, and Fawlay.

What is now the presbytery of Paisley, with twenty-three parishes old and new, was in 1574 thus represented:—Eistwod, stipend £66 and kirk-lands, with readers at Eistwod, Ruthirglen, and Cathcart. Paisley, £200 (two ministers), with readers at Paisley, Neilstoun, Kilbarchane, and Mernys. Renfrew, £200, with readers at Renfrew, Govane, and Inchechynane. Erskin, £133, with readers at Erskin and Houstoun. Kilellane *per sc* £40. The greater number of these readers had only £16 or £20 of stipend with kirk-lands.

At this stage the Church had neither synods nor presbyteries, only the two extremes—kirk-session and General Assembly. The germ of the synod was in the council of the superintendent, and the germ of the presbytery was in what was called the exercise—exercise with additions, or weekly exercise. "It was thought expedient, in every town where there were schools and any resort of learned men, there should be a weekly exercise for the trial and improvement of those who were employed in the service of the Church. The ministers and other learned persons in rotation were to interpret some place of Scripture. One was to give his opinion succinctly and soberly, without wandering from his text or introducing exhortations, admonitions, or reproofs. Another was then to *add* what the first seemed to have omitted, or to confirm what he had said by apt illustrations, or gently to correct any of his mistakes. In certain cases a third might supply what seemed to have been imperfectly treated by the others." All this was founded on 1 Cor. xiv. 29—"Let the prophets speak two or three, and let the other judge. If anything be revealed to another that sitteth by, let the first hold his peace. For ye may all prophesy one by one, that all may learn, and all may be comforted." While this text gives wise direction for the ordering of Christian congregational meetings at a time when the *charismata* were still a living feature of the Church, its applicableness to post-Reformation times, and to a clerical assembly, may well be questioned.

The communion was to be celebrated at least four times a year. Knox's Liturgy prescribes "once a month." Here we

discern an evident superiority, in the fresh feelings of the early Reformed Church, as compared with the seventeenth and eighteenth century custom of only yearly celebration, on the Old Testament model of the Passover and annual Day of Atonement.

The regular Sunday services consisted of two meetings—the one beginning at 8 A.M.; and the other in the early afternoon, for children to be catechised in the audience of the people, for which purpose the Catechism of Calvin was divided into portions for each Sunday. There was to be a week-day service in every church, especially in towns—a system that has fallen into regrettable disuse.

Such was the nature and position of the Church of Scotland at its origin, and for some time after. But the early difficulties of the Church can be appreciated only in connection with some outline of contemporary political history. A chief cause of the plots and changes characteristic of the period was the fact that two regencies came comparatively close together—the first in the youth of Mary, whose father, James V., died very shortly after her birth at Linlithgow, in 1542. Again, James VI., Mary's son, was crowned at Stirling in 1567, when he was only one year old—his mother having been forced to resign already, in her twenty-fifth year.

These weaknesses of the throne opened the way to the schemes and rivalries of barons already too turbulent and powerful to be good subjects. At the date when the Reformation was achieved (August, 1560), Mary of Guise, widow of James V. and mother of Mary Stuart, was regent; and the Reformation itself in one aspect was a revolution—a seizure of all power, civil and ecclesiastical, by a crowd of feudal barons in revolt against the lawful regent, whom they deposed, and practically in revolt also against the girl-queen herself, whom they expected to turn as they pleased.

At the end of the Reformation year (6th December), Mary's husband, Francis II. of France, died at Orleans, and Mary very early and properly made up her mind to quit France, much as she loved its people and ways, and betake herself to that smaller and ruder land where she was queen in her own right. Accordingly she arrived at Leith, 19th August, 1561. Her

reception was joyous and sincere. But matters soon changed, more through the fault of her nobles than of herself. The queen's personal talent for government was very great — as eminent, perhaps, as her beauty and accomplishments; but the divergence between queen and nobles as to creed, and the intrigues of the nobles among themselves and with Queen Elizabeth of England, rendered it impossible for Mary Stuart to follow any quiet and consistent policy. In fact, she never had a fair chance as a queen.

After a great deal of scheming and counter-scheming as to a proper match she was at last, on 29th July, 1565, married to Lord Darnley, one of her own subjects, but partly of royal blood—the queen being now twenty-three and her husband only nineteen. This was the first great mistake made by Mary, who was one of the cleverest women of the age, while Darnley was an incorrigible fool, silly and jealous, and made worse by his royal alliance. The crisis both of folly and crime came when Mary's Italian secretary, David Rizzio, was foully murdered, clinging for refuge to the queen's dress, on 6th March, 1566—not a year after the marriage. In this assassination Darnley was a leading spirit, his dagger being left in the poor secretary's body. Blood leads to blood, and the next victim was Darnley himself, whose death was compassed by a "band" of nobles who despised him for his silliness, and hated him for his rank. He was got rid of at Kirk-of-Field, near Edinburgh, 10th February, 1567, only a year and a half after his marriage.

For this conspiracy, murder, and treason, the Earl of Bothwell was brought to trial within a month, but on 12th April acquitted. To this unprincipled earl the queen was actually married on the 15th May, 1567—only three months and five days after Darnley's tragic death. One party says the queen was in collusion with Bothwell when she was carried off, and therefore grossly guilty. Another party avers her seizure by Bothwell was pure violence and treason, and the queen an unwilling victim. Whichever it was, the wretched union lasted only one month, for on the 15th June the queen parted from Bothwell, and surrendered to the Confederate Lords at the head of their troops on Carberry Hill.

By the Confederate Lords she was immediately sent prisoner

to Lochleven, where she was forced to sign papers of resignation—her half-brother Moray being appointed regent, 12th August, 1567, and her son James, a child of one year old, being crowned king at Stirling.

In order to understand the rapid and fearful nature of the experiences through which the queen passed in a very brief time, and the seditious attitude of the nobles, their rapid changes, and how the queen was dictated to by them, a note of the dates and events at the great crisis may here be given.

(1) In the first week of December, 1566, there was a conference at Craigmillar Castle, where the queen then was. At the conference were Moray, Maitland, Argyll, Huntly, and Bothwell, and the person against whom they were met was Darnley, whose tragic death followed on 10th February, 1567.

(2) On 19th April, 1567, at the close of a meeting of Parliament, a "band" was signed at Ainslie's Tavern in Edinburgh to promote a marriage between the queen and Bothwell—the signatories being Earls Argyll, Huntly, Cassilis, Morton, Errol, Sutherland, Rothes, Glencairn, Caithness, and Lords Boyd, Seton, Semple, Oliphant, Ogilvie, and Herries.[1] The marriage thus plotted took place 15th May, and had been made practicable by Bothwell on 24th April seizing the queen at Almond Bridge, six miles west of Edinburgh, whence he carried her to Dunbar.

(3) After the marriage, and within a fortnight, took place a meeting of nobles at Stirling in the interest of the prince, and entirely adverse both to Bothwell and the queen. The lords present were mostly the same as the Ainslie Tavern company—viz. Argyll, Atholl, Morton, Mar, Glencairn, Lindsay, Boyd, Maitland, Tullibardine, Grange. These "Confederate Lords," as they were called, tried to surprise the queen and Bothwell at Holyrood; who were missed by one day, for on 6th June they escaped to Borthwick and then to Dunbar, the confederates pursuing with 2000 horse. Failing in this they returned to Edinburgh, and issued a proclamation at Canongate, 11th June, and another next day at Edinburgh,[2] declaring their aim to be to deliver the queen from bondage and captivity, but making no hint of the queen's collusion with Bothwell. Yet these were the same lords who signed the band at Ainslie's Tavern! The

[1] Keith, "Affairs," ii. 563. [2] Ibid. ii. 620.

melancholy end was that to these same rebels and traitors the queen surrendered at Carberry Hill on 15th June, and two days later was on her way to Lochleven. On the 2nd of May, 1568, Mary escaped from Lochleven; and thereafter her party among the nobles fought and lost all at Langside, near Glasgow. She took refuge in England, put herself in the power of Elizabeth, and was never again free, till her execution in 1587.

As the queen's first great mistake was the marriage with Darnley, so her second was the union with Bothwell, and the third her retreat to England. The great historical problem touching Mary turns on her willingness or compulsion in the Bothwell marriage. The mystery of the "Casket Letters," after all that has been written, not excluding Mr. Skelton's brilliant "Maitland of Lethington," is still uncleared, but the presumption is considerably in the queen's favour. There can be no doubt that the nobles as a body were unjust and grossly disloyal to the queen, and had a direct interest in blackening her character so as to excuse their own plots. Nor can we lay any stress on what Buchanan has written, because his violent attack on the character of his sovereign, to whom in better days he had so gracefully dedicated his Psalms, is glaringly partisan, being influenced largely by his own zeal for the Reformed Church and his idea that the queen's influence was incompatible with that. Then, again, it is clear that Knox's treatment of her is utterly indefensible in its rudeness, being based on an assumption of a Divine mission on his part, and a daringly presumptuous misrepresentation of the mass as idolatry. One of the fine features of the queen's character is her consistent firmness in asserting her personal adherence to the Roman Church, in spite of the temptation to disarm her opponents by pretending some degree of sympathy with their reforms. On the other hand, an indefensible part of the conduct of the queen's enemies was their intolerance in demanding that she should worship as they did, and their considering that this want of agreement with them in any way lessened her right to the throne. Whatever may be said in favour of such a requirement since 1688, it is a totally different case where the change from Romanism to Protestantism was new, and where the sovereign was only adhering to the creed in which she had been trained.

The regency of Moray, which began 12th August, 1567, lasted only till 1570, when, on 23rd January, he was assassinated at Linlithgow by Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh. It was the Regent Moray who gave the first sanction of the Crown to the Reformation, and a short period of rest to the struggling Church —a double boon, appreciated then and ever since in the title of "The Good Regent." In July, 1570, the Earl of Moray was succeeded in the regency by the Earl of Lennox (who belonged to the king's party); but Lennox was shot in the High Street of Stirling the very next year. There were two things which rendered his position peculiarly unsafe: in the first place, his rule was not recognized as lawful by the queen's party, which at this date was still lively and hopeful; besides this he had made himself needlessly offensive by the hasty and cruel violence which he employed against Archbishop Hamilton, who fell into his hands on the capture of Dunbarton Castle, 2nd April, 1571, and was hanged at Stirling only four days later and without any regular trial. Lennox was surprised and slain by a body of the queen's partisans, led by Earl Huntly and Lord Claud Hamilton, only five months after the archbishop's death.

On the 5th September, 1571 (the day after this revenge on Lennox), the regency passed to the Earl of Mar, who was the choice of the nobles of the king's party in the distracted state; but Mar, dying suddenly on 28th October the next year, was succeeded by the Earl of Morton, who continued from 24th November, 1572, to 1578, when he resigned. Meanwhile the Castle of Edinburgh was held in the interest of the captive queen, but in 1573 it was taken, and the governor, Sir William Kirkaldy of Grange, was hanged. Death, kindly, intervened to save Maitland from the same doom. Before this, on 24th November, 1572, Knox had died.

Thus, within a period of ten years or little more after the Reformation, the principal actors were off the stage, and there had taken place a series of events of blood and treason, and lust and revenge, that have made this decennium as fertile of tragedy and controversy and mystery as the decennium of the siege of Troy.

CHAPTER XV.

FROM THE CONCORDAT OF LEITH, 1572, TO THE TRIUMPH OF PRESBYTERY, 1592-1596.

The superintendent of Angus's letters to the regent—The Convention and its ecclesiastical polity—Different views regarding the Concordat—Agreed to by General Assembly of 1572—Knox's farewell letter to Assembly—The "tulchans," or straw-bishops, of the Concordat—Andrew Melville—Fraudulent treatment of the clergy by the regent—Archbishop Boyd—Execution of Morton—Buchanan and King James—Office of bishop declared unlawful by Assembly—The King's Confession—The Raid of Ruthven—The Black Acts—Archbishop Adamson—The Act of Annexation—The Lesser Barons—Execution of Queen Mary—Conduct of King James at the time—His marriage—The Magna Charta of Presbytery—Erection of presbyteries—The Second Book of Discipline—The office of deacon.

On 1st February, 1572, when the Earl of Mar was regent took place the Concordat of Leith, followed by a General Assembly, wherein the whole complexion of Church government was changed. The way had been prepared for some kind of change, in that Mar's kinsman, Erskine of Dun, superintendent of Angus, had written two letters to the regent on 10th and 14th November, 1571, distinguishing between purely ecclesiastical functions, which the Church alone had right in, and other matters touching temporalities, which the State might justly regulate, but wherein recently the State had been acting oppressively, and for which the superintendent craved relief for the mutual benefit of each. Mar had answered these letters in no unfriendly spirit. Besides the Superintendent of Angus, many of the clergy saw how desirable it was to have some more constitutional arrangement than had been adopted by Parliament at Stirling, in August, 1571, without consultation with the Church—viz. to call certain of the Protestant clergy to vote as successors of deceased prelates, and to appoint nominal bishops to vacant sees, so that they might attend meetings of the Estates. The object of this was to keep up the old *ecclesiastical* element of Parliament, so as to avoid objection by the queen's adherents, that the Acts of the king's party in Parliament were irregular from the absence of prelates.

The Concordat at Leith, where the king's party was encamped, was arranged during a period of civil war and great dis-

order. The meeting of clergy on 12th January was called a Convention only, and not a General Assembly. Only the superintendents and a few ministers were invited by the regent to consult on the best methods of allaying the dissensions between the Court and the Church. This Convention illegally assumed to itself the functions of the Assembly that had no hand in its appointment. Besides this, the Convention reduced itself to a committee of six—viz. John Erskine, John Winram, Andrew Hay, David Lindsay, Robert Pont, and John Craig. The other six of the Privy Council were, Earl Morton, chancellor; Lord Ruthven, treasurer; Robert, abbot of Dunfermline; Sir John Bellenden, lord justice-clerk; Mr. James Macgill of Rankeillor, clerk register; and Colin Campbell of Glenorchy. These twelve entered into an arrangement as to Church dignities, of which the following is the substance:—

"It is thought good, in consideration of the present state, (1) That the names and titles of the archbishops and bishops be not altered, or the bounds of the dioceses confounded, but that they continue in time coming, as they did before the reformation of religion, at least till the king's majesty's majority or consent of Parliament; (2) that the archbishoprics and bishoprics vacant should be conferred on men endowed, as far as may be, with the qualities specified in the Epistles of Paul to Timothy and Titus; (3) that to all archbishoprics and bishoprics that should become vacant, qualified persons should be presented within a year and a day after the vacancy took place, and those nominated to be thirty years of age at the least; (4) that the spiritual jurisdiction should be exercised by the bishops in their dioceses; (5) that abbots, priors, and inferior prelates, presented to benefices, should be tried as to their qualification and their aptness to give voice in Parliament, by the bishop or superintendent of the bounds, and upon their collation should be admitted to the benefice, but not otherwise; (6) that the elections of persons presented to bishoprics should be made by the chapters of the cathedral churches; and because the chapters of divers churches were possessed by men provided before his Majesty's coronation, who bore no office in the Church, that a particular nomination of ministers should be made in every diocese, to supply their rooms until the benefice should fall void; (7) that all benefices, with cure under prelacies, should be conferred on actual ministers, and on no others; (8) that ministers should receive ordination from the bishops of the diocese, and where no bishop was as yet placed, from the superintendent of the bounds; (9) that the bishops and superintendents, at the ordination of ministers, should exact of them an oath for acknowledging his Majesty's authority, and for obedience to their ordinary in all things."

It was also agreed that all archbishops and bishops hereafter to be admitted should exercise no further jurisdiction in

spiritual function than the superintendents exercised; that they were to be subject to the Church in spiritual matters, as to the king in those that were temporal; and that they should consult some of the most learned of the chapter, not fewer than six, with regard to the admission of such as were to have function in the Church.

It was further agreed that no disposition should take place of any abbacy vacant at the time of the negotiation, or which afterwards should become vacant, till inquiry had been made what part of the revenue consisted of tithes, and what of temporal lands, that, with the advice of the bishop or superintendent within whose province the abbey or priory lay, provision should be secured for the decent support of the ministers who officiated in the churches, and that it should be paid in terms of a special assignation. What remained after this had been done, it was thought proper to give to him who had the title of abbot, prior, or commendator, whose duty it was to represent the ecclesiastical state in Parliament. These titular priors and abbots were to be promoted to seats in the College of Justice, or were to be employed by the king in the affairs of the Commonwealth, it being, however, secured that no church connected with their benefice should be destitute of a minister. With respect to residence, it was resolved that no one engaged in the pastoral office should be absent from his benefice above forty days in the year, without permission from the king, or unless he had some lawful impediment. It was also agreed that qualified ministers should be settled throughout the kingdom, and that they should be assisted by readers, who, having been approved by the bishop or superintendent, were to be authorized to dispense the sacrament of baptism and to marry. It was further determined that none should be admitted to a plurality of benefices with cure; and that the political and religious sentiments of the ministers might be placed beyond a doubt, all who were presented to livings were to be required, in presence of the bishop or superintendent, to subscribe the articles of religion, or the Confession of Faith and doctrines of the sacraments contained in the Acts of the first Parliament of James, and to swear that they acknowledged the king's authority.

These articles, after they had been approved by the deputation of the above-named twelve from the Church and the Government, were submitted to the regent, the Earl of Mar, who, in name of his sovereign, gave to them his approbation.

The ecclesiastical polity thus framed by the Convention differed considerably from that laid down in the First Book of Discipline, in restoring Episcopacy, and recognizing titles and offices which the Reformers had at first considered it wise to abolish. Yet this Episcopacy rested on the same foundation which had been previously laid, for it received the sanction of those to whom it was submitted, not from its being expressly prescribed by the Word of God, but from its being calculated, in the peculiar situation of the Church of Scotland, to give vigour and efficacy to religious instruction, and to secure all the important objects which an ecclesiastical establishment is designed to promote. The truth is that ever since the Reformation, now twelve years ago, the Church had been painfully feeling the force of the warning given by Archbishop Hamilton through John Brand, a monk of Holyrood, to John Knox:—"Say from me that howsoever he has introduced another form of religion, and reformed the doctrine of the Church, whereof it might be there was some reason, yet he should do well not to shake loose the order and policy received, which had been the work of many ages, till he were sure of a better to be settled in place thereof."[1] The sudden and violent overturn, in 1560, of offices elaborately developed in an ancient and wealthy church, had thrown their fabrics and emoluments in tithes and lands open to a scramble, wherein the Reformed clergy came very badly off, getting only starving pittances irregularly paid, whereas the bulk of the ecclesiastical property went to rapacious and rebellious nobles at feud among themselves and against the throne. Thus, by apparently opposite motives, were Court and Church at this period brought together to make common cause in readjusting the temporalities of the Church. The ministers, on their side, hoped to get fairer stipends and these regularly paid, while the nobles, on their side, hoped to get more directly and more freely hold of the old episcopal and monastic revenues and lands, and at the same time, by restoring or conserving the

[1] Keith's "Hist. of Affairs," Spottiswoode Soc., iii. 21.

prelatic element in the estates, to render parliamentary action constitutional.

The object aimed at in these arrangements was not so much the setting up of Episcopacy for its own sake, as rather to be used as a means whereby needy and greedy noblemen might get at the wealth of the old Church, and whereby parliamentary action might be secured as valid. An Act of Privy Council, February 15, 1562, assigned one-third of the old revenues to the clergy of the Reformed Church, and gave the other two-thirds in liferent to the old beneficiaries—*i.e.* archbishops and bishops, abbots and priors. As the law stood, only ecclesiastical persons could draw the revenues arising from these two-thirds, and as they were now held only in liferent, the question required to be faced and settled as to their destination on the gradual extinction of the liferenters. The Reformed clergy claimed them by inheritance as Church patrimony. The nobility considered the money would be useful to themselves if they could outwit or force the Church. The Concordat was the result, and the proposed bishops were mere cats'-paws of the barons. It is instructive to mark the different ways in which the programme of the Concordat at Leith has been regarded. According to Dr. Grub (ii. 180), "there was one fatal deficiency, which made the new polity, however outwardly fair and regular, a mere form. The persons to whom the office of consecration [of the new bishops] was intrusted had not themselves the gift which they were required to bestow on others." But this begs the whole question whether ordination is not transmissible through presbyters as well as through bishops, and whether the first bishops were not the creation of presbyters as a matter of convenience and expediency. Dr. Cook, in his "History of the Church of Scotland" (i. 181), gives this favourable opinion—"The Episcopal polity which issued from the Convention, appears to have been admirably calculated for securing a useful and efficient clergy. It established an excellent system of control; it enforced upon ministers the regular discharge of their pastoral duties; it assigned a peculiar province to all holding benefices—allotted a moderate provision for their support and comfort—whilst it subjected the highest dignitaries of the Church to restraints which guarded against the indolence or the profligacy that had

disgraced the bishops under the Popish establishment." Most striking of all is it to find Knox himself at the time, although he took no direct part in the matter, yet indirectly acquiescing in these terms addressed in a letter to the Assembly from St. Andrews very shortly before his death. He requests that "all bishoprics vacant may be presented, and qualified persons nominated thereunto, within a year of the vaiking thereof, according to the order taken in Leith by the Commissioners of the nobility and of the Kirk in the month of January last;" that no pensions of benefices be allowed without consent of the legal possessor, the superintendent, or commissioner of the district, or "of the bishops lawfully elected according to the said order taken at Leith;" that persons nominated bishops be rejected if they "make not residence, or be slanderous, or found unworthy either in life or doctrine by the judgment of the Kirk;" and that "an Act be made, decerning and ordaining all bishops admitted by the order of the Kirk now received, to give account of their whole rents and intromissions therewith once in the year.[1] Contrasted with Knox, less favourable estimates of the Leith Convention and Concordat have been formed by the keener school of Presbyterians represented by Melville, Calderwood, Petrie, Rule, Wodrow, and M'Crie (junior), who transfer the controversial heat of later periods against Episcopacy, more than the facts warrant, to the opening decade of the Reformed Church, which, though it had no bishops, yet had little animus against them, and even to a considerable extent copied their best features, alike in superintendents and commissioners.

These arrangements came up for final consideration at a General Assembly held in Perth in August, 1572, when they were agreed to hesitatingly and temporarily—the Assembly especially stipulating that the names archbishop, dean, archdean, chancellor, chapter, "slanderous and offensive to the ears of many," should be changed into others, and that the whole be only "interim until further and more perfect order be obtained at the hands of the king's majesty's regent and nobility."

Knox was unable to attend the Perth Assembly, but sent a letter, wherein he took a solemn farewell of them all, and of all public affairs. In a message accompanying the letter, among

[1] "Booke of the Universal Kirke of Scotland," part I. 248.

other things he advised them not directly to oppose the articles of the Convention, but to stipulate that the churchmen who drew the two-thirds should account for them to the General Assembly. This course would have exposed unfaithful men to prosecution for simony, and would have defeated the development of Church robbery through bishops of straw.

Following up the Concordat of Leith, John Douglas became primate; James Boyd got Glasgow; Andrew Paton, Dunkeld; Andrew Graham, Dunblane; George Douglas, Moray. Already Gordon was bishop of Galloway; Bothwell, titular bishop of Orkney; Stuart, of Caithness; Hamilton, of Argyll; Alexander Campbell, of Brechin; Carswell, of the Isles—of whom Gordon alone was episcopally consecrated. Leslie of Ross held nominal possession till + 1596.

The new bishops under the Concordat of Leith and the Perth Assembly were bishops chiefly in name, as the revenues of the sees went to enrich certain lay lords. James Melville[1] says—"Every lord got a bishopric, and sought and presented to the Kirk such a man as would be content with least, and get them most, of tacks, feus, and pensions." It was a good stroke of popular wit and ridicule whereby these make-believe bishops were called "tulchans," the Gaelic name for calf-skins filled with straw, that used to be set before cows to induce them to yield their milk more easily. With allusion to the characteristic features of the tulchans, Patrick Adamson, in a sermon at St. Andrews, made a threefold classification of bishops: the first, my lord bishop in the Roman Church; the second, my lord's bishop, where my lord held the benefice and kept a bishop to do the work, so as to secure the revenue; the third, the Lord's bishop, or true minister of the Gospel.

This Concordat was largely managed by Morton and the intended archbishop, John Douglas, provost of New College, St. Andrews, whom Knox refused to inaugurate as bishop, pronouncing an anathema against the giver and receiver of the bishopric. It will be remembered that in 1571, on the death of the primate, Morton had received from Regent Mar a grant of the revenues of St. Andrews. The paction between Morton and Douglas was what roused the ire of Knox.

[1] Diary, 31.

At this stage we enter on a new and important development in our Church history. Had the principles agreed on at Leith in 1572 been more generally accepted or more fairly carried out, so as to have properly taken root, they might have averted the long and bitter strife between Presbytery and Episcopacy, as well as the degradation of Presbytery, in later times, into narrow sects based on paltry internal feuds. And the strife and degradation might have been averted by faithfully conserving the main principles of Church government set up by the original reformers of 1560 in a system possessing the best features both of Presbytery and Episcopacy. The constitution of 1572 differed from that of 1560 by laying greater stress on bishops; but the constitutions of 1592, 1638, and 1688 all differ from that of 1560 in laying a stress on Presbytery and parity then unknown; for it was not until 1581 that the first presbyterial court was erected, and not till 1586 such courts were sanctioned by the king.

The Concordat of Leith had a reasonably fair start. Though the Church had little or no joy over it, many, and apparently the majority, had anticipations of peace and usefulness in it; while the prejudice against it was limited in extent and mild in character, mostly touching nomenclature. The first attitude of the Church towards it is seen in such ways and points as the following:—At the first meeting of the General Assembly, March 6, 1573, after the adoption of the modified system of Episcopacy, a parish minister was made moderator, though the Archbishop of St. Andrews was present. Yet in this Assembly there was distinct recognition of bishops in giving certain directions as to excommunication and as to dealing with witches. In the Assembly of 1574 the Regent Morton was solicited "to provide qualified persons for vacant bishoprics." This year Archbishop Boyd of Glasgow was moderator. Three superintendents—viz. Erskine, Spottiswoode, and Winram—tendered their resignation, having felt insulted by some words spoken by the regent concerning their office, but the Assembly refused to receive the resignations, and guarded them against being interfered with in their own districts by the bishops. A bishop's authority was confined to his own see, and he had no official pre-eminence in the Assembly.

There were two things, distinct from each other and apart from internal disfavour in the Assembly itself, that combined to raise and foster a growing opposition to the system of 1572. These were, first, fraudulent pecuniary treatment of the clergy by Regent Morton, which led many to go back in favour of the old superintendent system; and secondly, there was the sudden appearance of a new church leader in the person of Andrew Melville to foment and guide this dissatisfaction, so that instead of taking the simple form of reverting to the old order, his movement took the undesirable form of sharp and prolonged controversy, striving against all pre-eminence, whether in name or office, in the Church, and setting up a new theory of parity which was neither natural, Scriptural, ecclesiastical, nor Scottish.

The offence given by the regent consisted in his mismanagement of stipends. Previously these had been paid out of the third of the revenues of benefices, the remainder of the third, in a certain proportion, going to the king's household. These thirds were collected at the instance of the superintendents, and then distributed to ministers and readers, who, however, had no little inconvenience from delay. The regent offered to collect the thirds himself, fix at once the stipend of each parish minister, and save all delay, adding the pledge that if his scheme did not give satisfaction on trial the old plan would be reverted to. When he had got control of this revenue, stipends were worse paid than before, often wholly refused, and ministers kept dangling about court in hope of payment. Moreover, parishes were united to save the difference between a minister's allowance and that of a reader; and also the superintendents were cut down to the ministerial level—all these clippings going into the regent's pocket.

The other prominent obstacle to the continuance of the modified Episcopal constitution of 1572, besides the financial mismanagement of the regent, was the new policy and influence of Andrew Melville. As John Knox was the leading churchman in the early Reformation period, from 1560 to 1572, when the First Book of Discipline represented the Church's views, so was Melville the leading churchman in this later period, when the Church's views were represented by the Second Book of Discipline.

Melville was one of those men of whom any Church might have been proud, and one of the most accomplished scholars of that energetic age, when almost everywhere those of the highest learning were arrayed on the side of the new doctrine. He was born in 1545 at Baldovy, near Montrose, and was educated there and at St. Andrews, where he stayed from the age of fourteen to nineteen. He then went to Paris for two years, and at twenty-one became regent or professor in the college of St. Marceon at Poitiers. Thereafter at Geneva, in 1568, through Beza's influence, he was appointed professor of humanity. Returning to Scotland in 1574, he was made principal of Glasgow College, and six years later principal of St. Mary's College at St. Andrews.

Whatever may have been the independent line of his own thoughts on Church government, undoubtedly his views were much influenced by six years' contact with Beza, who was a man essentially narrower than either Calvin or Knox, and whose keenness took the wrong and too republican direction of looking askance on all eminence in the Church, and aiming at a monotonous level, which is chiefly a convenience for helping upward an inferior class of men, while it tends to drag down men of ability and spirit, or at all events tends to prevent them reaching the higher level which they would naturally attain in any other calling where professional diligence and integrity had a free and fair field. A man of Melville's scholarly power, of good family, and at the head of a university, took almost from the first a foremost place in the Church councils, and finding a large measure of discontent ready-made through the penurious bungling or peculation of Regent Morton, and having a clear counter polity to propound, nothing was more natural than that he should at once rise to the surface as the Church's champion against the court and state. Half of the same power exercised in a friendly and conciliatory way might have neutralized the regent's mismanagement and given satisfaction to all concerned, with a workable Church midway between Presbytery and Episcopacy, apart from red-hot theories on either side.

What happened, however, in the actual circumstances was this, that year by year Melville guided his party to increasing

success against the whole of Morton's ecclesiastical polity, and even against a part of the earlier polity of Knox and the original Reformers. For five years, from 1575 to 1580, step by step Melville's views and party made progress. Then for another five years not only was progress arrested, but matters were violently thrown back to the Episcopal position of 1572, the new turning-point being the Raid of Ruthven in 1582. In 1585 came another period of five years for a fresh start of Melville's policy, until in 1590 it was completely successful, as marked in a famous and foolish speech of the king.

The following is an outline of this period of alternate movement and reaction. A report made to the Assembly of 1575 by a committee of six members, chosen three from each side, bore that they were unanimously of opinion that the name *bishop* rightly belonged to every minister who had the charge of a flock, but that out of these some might be chosen to oversee such reasonable districts as might be assigned them besides their own congregations; to appoint ministers, elders, and deacons in destitute places; and to administer discipline with the consent of the clergy and people. This is simply an adherence to the old idea of superintendent, and is also in strict accord with the Confession of 1560, which neither asserts parity in the ministry nor denies Episcopacy. Best of all, this free system is also that which the ripest modern criticism of the New Testament has firmly vindicated as the original order of apostolic times. The members of the committee that gave in this report were Andrew Melville, principal of Glasgow College; John Craig, minister of Aberdeen, formerly Knox's colleague; James Lawson, minister of Edinburgh; David Lindsay of Leith; John Reid of Perth; and George Hay, commissioner from Caithness, of whom the first three were in favour of Presbytery, while the other three were on the side of Episcopacy.

By a regulation of the Assembly of 1575, Archbishop Boyd of Glasgow was enjoined to choose a particular flock and to confine himself to such bounds in his visitation as the Church should prescribe. The archbishop made this judicious and respectful reply in writing:—"First, I understand the name, office, and modest reverence borne to a bishop to be lawful, and allowable by the Scriptures of God, and being elected by

the kirk and king to be bishop of Glasgow, I esteem my calling and office lawful. As it respects my execution of that charge committed to me, I am content to endeavour at my uttermost ability to perform the same, and every point thereof, and to abide the honourable judgment of the kirk from time to time of my offending by my duty, craving always a brotherly desire at their hands, seeing that the responsibility is weighty, and in the laying to my charge to be examined by the canon left by the apostle to Timothy (i.–iii.), because that portion was appointed to me at my receipt, to understand therefrom the duties of a bishop. As to my living, rents and other things granted by the prince to me and my successors for the securing of that charge, I reckon the same lawful. As to my duty to the supreme magistrate in assisting his Grace in Council or Parliament, being summoned thereto, I consider my position as a subject compels me to obey the same, and no hurt but beneficial to the kirk that some of our number are at the making of good laws and ordinances. In the doing whereof, I protest before God, I intend never to do anything but what I believe shall stand with the purity of the Scripture and a well reformed country, for a good part of the revenue I enjoy has been given for that cause."[1] This was held to be no answer to the Act, which plainly shows that the self-willed Assembly demanded submission in preference to sound law and argument.

In 1578 a nearer approach was made to the later Presbyterian system by prohibiting territorial names or titles to bishops, and restricting them to their own proper names.

In 12th March, 1578, Morton resigned the regency, and the king, at twelve years of age, nominally assumed the government. Morton soon regained influence, but was finally got rid of by the king's favourites, Lennox and Arran, and was executed 2nd June, 1581.

The king early manifested an antipathy to the General Assembly and to Presbytery, which never left him. This arose partly from the influence of his favourites, partly from his prospect of succession to the English throne and from his innate conceit of arbitrary power, and possibly from the over-stern discipline of his school-days. The curious personality of James

[1] "Book of the Universal Kirk" (quoted by Lawson, i. 160).

runs through the whole Church history of his long reign. Sully called him "the wisest fool in Christendom," alluding to his name of the Scottish Solomon. "He was, indeed," as Macaulay says, "made up of two men: a witty, well-read scholar, who wrote, disputed, and harangued, and a nervous, drivelling idiot who acted." Buchanan, who knew him best, admitted that in making the king a pedant, it was the most he could make of him.

In 1580, at Dundee, no Episcopal remnant was left at all:—"The whole Assembly of the Kirk, in one voice, found and declared the pretended office of a bishop to be unlawful, having neither foundation nor warrant in the Word of God, and ordained all such persons as brooked the said office to demit the same as an office to which they were not called by God, and to cease from preaching the Word and administering the sacraments till they should be admitted anew by the General Assembly, under pain of excommunication." This measure, alike of overstrained doctrine and excessive rigour, was submitted to by all the bishops except five. Archbishop Boyd of Glasgow made a protestation, which the Assembly accepted. Adamson, who was presented by Morton as archbishop to St. Andrews, was admitted by the same Assembly.

The 28th of January, 1581, is the date of the document variously called the Second Confession of Faith, the King's Confession, the Negative Confession or First Covenant, chiefly directed against Popery, and drawn up at the request of the king by John Craig, minister of Edinburgh. It was now signed by the king, and was afterwards repeatedly signed during periodic fears or panics of Romish plots. It is printed as the first part of the National Covenant.

The King's Confession is remarkable for the wildness of its language in denouncing the errors of the Roman Church, evidently embodying the chief terms used in the heat of the original battle of the Reformation—terms which by a curious bitter tradition have descended in many cases to the nineteenth century, and still form the uncouth armoury of ultra-Protestant societies, where nothing is known but the one-sided literature of denunciation, blind to good, and mindful of evil.

On the 2nd of June Earl Morton was beheaded, ostensibly

for a share in the murder of Darnley, but really as a victim to the rivalry of Lennox (Esme Stuart d'Aubigné, the king's cousin, who came from France in 1579). Lennox (on the death of Archbishop Boyd) offered the see of Glasgow to Robert Montgomery, minister of Stirling, with a simoniacal bargain that the revenue (value £4080) should go to Lennox, all save £1000 Scots to Montgomery. Montgomery was excommunicated 9th June, 1582, and his name is of frequent occurrence subsequently. After the Assembly of June, 1582, a committee went to Perth, headed by Melville, to lay the Church's griefs before the king. On Arran's demanding who dared to sign so treasonable a document, Melville said "We dare," signed the paper, and was followed by the rest of the committee.[1]

On 23rd August, 1582, the Raid of Ruthven took place, when the king was made prisoner at Huntingtower by Earl Gowrie, aided by Mar, Glamis, and others, with a view to rescuing him from the malign influence of Lennox and Arran. The church was too easily pleased by this turn of affairs. John Durie (lately exiled for his visit to the king at Kinneil and his sermon in Edinburgh) returned in popular triumph. But on the 25th August, 1583, the king escaped from the Confederate Lords into the Castle of St. Andrews, and the Raid of Ruthven was declared treason. The barons submitted, and were forgiven. Durie was cited—retracted and was dismissed. Melville was cited—was defiant and fled. Earl Gowrie was tried on a new charge, and executed 2nd May, 1584.

On 22nd May, 1584, Parliament met and passed a series of five Acts, generally known as the Black Acts, which utterly destroyed the old freedom of the Church, replaced Episcopacy and secured it by penal sanctions:—(1) The ancient jurisdiction of the three estates was ratified (one of the three being the *bishops*), and to speak evil of any one of them is treason. (2) The king was supreme in all causes and over all persons, and to decline his judgment is treason. (3) All convocations not specially licensed by the king are unlawful (church courts are thus made to depend on the king's will). (4) The chief juris-

[1] "The Grieves of the Kirk" are given in fourteen particulars as presented to the king in writing in Peterkin's "Booke of the Universall Kirk," 256.

diction of the Church lies with the bishops (who thus take the place of Assemblies and Presbyteries). (5) "None shall presume, privately or publicly, in sermons, declamations, or familiar conferences, to utter any false, untrue, or slanderous speeches, to the reproach of his Majesty or council, or meddle with the affairs of his highness and estate, under the pains contained in the Acts of Parliament made against the makers and reporters of lies."

Pont, minister of St. Cuthbert's, made public protestation against these tyrannical acts, and fled with Walter Balcanquhal, another city minister, to Berwick.

In August the Estates again met and added an Act that made the five already passed more practical for mischief—that all ministers, readers, and masters of colleges should compear within forty days and subscribe the Acts concerning the king's jurisdiction over all estates, temporal and spiritual, and promise to submit themselves to the bishops, their ordinaries, under pain of being deprived of their stipends. For a time the Church was forced into submission by these sweeping oppressions.

On 5th November, 1585, what may be called a *revolution* came to the relief of the Church, when the banished lords with armed followers entered Stirling Castle, met the king, and offered him a homage which was really a victory—Arran having fled northward just before their entry. Now by the Synod of Fife, Andrew Melville being present, Archbishop Adamson was excommunicated as the author of the Black Acts of last year. He was again excommunicated, but finally absolved in 1590, and died in 1591 in extreme destitution.

Archbishop Adamson is a man who has by no means had justice at the hands of Presbyterian historians and critics. Although not of high tone or pre-eminent ability, he seems to have been in a fair degree worthy of the promotion he received, and but for the fierceness of party spirit, at the time of his primacy would have passed muster reasonably well without being illustrious. Patrick Adamson or Constance or Constine was born in 1536 or 1530, the son of a baker who was a burgess of Perth, several of whose family held respectable public positions. Patrick was educated at the grammar school of Perth and at St. Andrews, where he took the degree of M.A.

Thereafter for four years he was a teacher at Ceres and had care of several gentlemen's sons, specially of young Macgill of Rankeillor. After the Reformation he acted as minister of Ceres, and in 1563 was prominent enough to be made a commissioner of the General Assembly for planting kirks in the North. He went to Paris in 1566 with young Macgill, and the same year he suffered six months' imprisonment for a Latin poem on the birth of James VI., his offence being that he had given to the infant prince, as was objected by France and England, too many titles in the heading of the piece. At Bourges he studied law in company with his pupil, and there narrowly escaped the outer wave of the massacre of St. Bartholomew in 1572. On his escape and return the same year he became minister of Paisley. Three years later he was appointed by the Assembly a commissioner for settling the jurisdiction and polity of the Church, and also became chaplain to the Regent Morton, and archbishop of St. Andrews. He wrote a translation, in four books of Latin verse, of Calvin's Catechism; and made a Latin version of the Confession of Faith of 1560. One of the best tokens of the really good position occupied by Adamson, apart from the ecclesiastical strife in which he became involved through the fault of others, is the fact that he was recommended for the principalship of St. Leonard's College at St. Andrews by George Buchanan himself. In 1578 there were complaints in the General Assembly of his tergiversation as to the Book of Discipline of 1576. In 1582 he was seized with a sore disease of obscure nature, called by himself a *Feditie*, during which he naturally kept at home in his Castle of St. Andrews, for which, with evident bias of temper, he is blamed by Calderwood—"he keeped his Castle, like a tod in his hole"—part of the blame being for getting medical hints from a woman, Alison Pearson, who was afterwards burnt as a witch in Edinburgh. The Church and the age were grossly and cruelly wrong in the matter of witches; and it is not at all unlikely that in the low state of medical science this woman was skilled in healing-herbs, and might be honestly of great use. At all events the archbishop so far recovered in 1583 as to be able to preach before the king, who then visited St. Andrews. In January, 1586, a declaration (relative to the Black Acts of 1584) was

published by Adamson with the concurrence or help of the king; but the same year James was led or compelled to disavow this declaration and sign another in a contrary sense, whereby the unfortunate primate was left in the lurch, to bear the brunt of the odium of these Acts, for which he was excommunicated by the Church, now swayed by Andrew Melville's party. Much of the reproach heaped upon Adamson turns upon his having got into debt; but the cause of his impecuniousness does not seem to have been in maintaining state or squandering, but simply in the confused and unpunctual condition of the revenues of his office, aggravated and needlessly exposed by the vehemence of his clerical opponents. The so-called Recantation which clouded his last days, in 1591, seems to have been mainly a fraudulent or semi-fraudulent trick played upon a feeble and dying man by the same triumphant persecutors, so that the shame of it is theirs and not his.

The view here taken of Adamson's character and treatment is in substantial agreement with that of Dr. George Cook,[1] whose work is not sufficiently prized for its moderation of tone and its preference for the Reformed Church in its earlier days compared with its later and narrower developments.[2]

A compromise between the council and the clergy was effected and ratified in the General Assembly of 1586, at which the king was present and voted. It was resolved that by bishops should be meant only such as were described by St. Paul; that such bishops might be appointed by the General Assembly to visit certain bounds assigned to them, but subject to the advice of the Synod; that in receiving presentations and giving collation to benefices, they must act according to the direction of the presbytery of the bounds, and be answerable for their whole conduct to the General Assemblies. It was also agreed to have annual meetings of the Assembly. Archbishop Adamson having made some submission, was absolved from the excommunication.

In 1587 an Act, commonly called the Act of Annexation, was passed by the Estates, annexing the temporalities of all

[1] "Hist. of the Church of Scot.," i. 459–461.

[2] A good outline of Adamson's career and list of his writings is given in Dr. Gordon's "Ecclesiastical Chronicle for Scotland," i. 321–338.

the bishoprics to the Crown—a proceeding that practically uprooted Episcopacy, by leaving it mere names without corresponding revenues; and the sacrilegious plunder was mostly squandered among needy and greedy courtiers. In the same year the king revived an old part of the constitution by calling into Parliament members for counties, otherwise known as "lesser barons" or "commissioners of shires." This was done to counterbalance the independent turbulence of the great nobles, but the issue was that the lesser barons, as in closer contact with the common people, were far less subservient to king and court than the great nobles. Previous to this, on 8th February, the unhappy Queen Mary had been executed by the jealous and cruel Elizabeth. Poor King James had not the courage to interfere effectively on behalf of his mother, and the conduct of many ministers in refusing to pray for her is a dark blot on the Church. In the Assembly in June, 1587, the king tried to have John Couper punished, he having pre-occupied the pulpit of St. Giles on 3rd February for the purpose of excluding Archbishop Adamson and hindering the appointed prayer for Queen Mary. Couper was removed from Edinburgh to Glasgow. Many of the ministers, however, had done their duty in praying for their afflicted queen without being misled by the question of her share in Popish plots, which she was quite entitled to use if thereby she could regain the throne. In this painful and shameful crisis the dilatory conduct of James was worse than that of the obstructors of prayer, because while his mother was tried on the 11th and sentenced on the 25th October, 1586, it was only on 3rd February, 1587, that prayer was appointed, nor were the three intervening months put to any use to deliver Mary from the cruel policy of her sister of England.

In 1590, in the General Assembly, the king made an extravagant speech in praise of the Church, now thoroughly Presbyterian. The speech is more damaging to the king's reputation (considering the general character of his policy during a long reign) than almost anything he ever said or did. "He fell forth praising God that he was born in such a time as the time of the light of the Gospel; to such a place as to be king in such a Kirk, the sincerest Kirk in the world. The Kirk of

Geneva keepeth Pasche and Yule: what have they for them? They have no institution. As for our neighbour Kirk in England, it is an evil-said mass in English, wanting nothing but the liftings. I charge you, my good people, ministers, doctors, elders, nobles, gentlemen, and barons, to stand to your purity, and to exhort the people to do the same; and I, forsooth, so long as I brook my life and crown, shall maintain the same against all deadly."

A mixture of good-humour and light-headedness marked the king at this period. He had recently returned from his odd marriage adventure, having spent the winter at Kronberg, near Copenhagen, after being married at Upsal (Christiania), 23rd November, 1589 (by his chaplain, David Lindsay, minister of Leith), to the Princess Anne of Denmark. The queen was crowned in the chapel of Holyrood in May, 1590, on a Sunday, by the king's favourite (for the time being), Robert Bruce, one of the ministers of Edinburgh.

The Assembly met 22nd May, 1592, in Edinburgh, with Robert Bruce as moderator. Four articles were formulated as a petition to the king. Parliament met in June, when the petition of the Church was taken into consideration, and an Act passed, often called the Magna Charta of Presbytery, ratifying the liberty of the Church, giving a legal jurisdiction to its courts, declaring that the Acts of 1584 were abrogated, in so far as they impinged on ecclesiastical authority in matters of religion, heresy, excommunication, or collation, and providing that presentations should henceforward be directed, not to the bishops, but to the presbyteries within whose bounds the vacant benefices lay.[1]

Thus were legalized the chief parts of the Second Book of Discipline. Some attribute this wonderful amount of concession to the volatile humour of the king, for the present greatly pleased. Others explain it by the public alarm at the presence of Bothwell (the king's mad cousin), and the horror caused by the recent tragedy at Donibristle—partly because the corpse of Earl Moray was still lying in the church of Leith unburied, and partly by force of common rebuke and threatening from the

[1] The full text of this important Act is given in Lee's "Hist. of the Ch. of Scot.," ii. 3; also in "Laws of the Ch. of Scot.," 38 (Aberdeen, 1853).

pulpit. This Act was sent by the king as a great gift to the General Assembly of April, 1593; and this royal sunshine lasted for four years. Of Assembly 1596 Calderwood says:—"Here end all the sincere Assemblies of the Church of Scotland, enjoying the liberty of the Gospel under the free government of Christ."

The erection of presbyteries at this date merits special attention. Although in later times presbyteries have come to be regarded as the basis of the system of the Church of Scotland, they had no existence for above twenty years after the Reformation. The Presbytery of Edinburgh, which was first erected, began in 1581. Others followed by degrees, and were agreed to by the king in 1586. In 1592 they were ratified by Parliament.

"At the Assembly holden in Aprile 1593, the names of all the Presbyteries were given up—viz., Dingwall, Kirkwall, Thurso, Dornoch, Taine, the Channorie of Ross, Invernesse, Forresse, Elgin, Ruthven, Bamff, Deir, Innerourie, Aberdeen, Kincardine, Cowie, Brechin, Arbroath, Meigle, Dundee, Dunkelden, Perth, Dumblane, St. Andrews, Cowper, Dumferlin, Kirkaldie, Stirling, Linlithgow, Edinburgh, Dalkeith, Haddingtoune, Dumbar, Peebles, Chirnside, Dunce, Jedburgh, Melrosse, Dumfreis, Kirkudbright, Wightoun, Air, Irving, Pasley, Dumbartoune, Glasgow, Hamilton, Lanark. These were the townes whereunto the ministers of the kirks nixt adjacent resorted every week for exercise of prophesie, by course and exercising of discipline. The seat of the Presbytrie might not be changed without the determination of the Generall Assembly, as the Act made in October 1581 beareth."[1] Thus in 1593 there were only forty-eight presbyteries, as compared with our present number of eighty-four.

The more exact subdivision of the Church into presbyteries was the work of Melville and his party. In the Assembly of October, 1576, it was enacted "that all ministers within eight miles should resort to the place of exercise each day of exercise." In the Assembly of July, 1579, it was proposed "that a general order may be taken for erecting presbyteries in places where public exercise was used, till the policy of the Kirk might be established by law;" to which the Assembly

[1] Scot of Cupar, "Narration," 60.

answered, "the exercise may be judged a presbytrie." The name previously in use for those who met in the exercise was "the Eldership," which is used in the plural in the Second Book of Discipline, chap. vii., as equivalent to presbyteries. The Glasgow Assembly of 1638 furnishes a careful list of sixty-seven presbyteries, "the order of the Provinciall Assemblies given in by the most ancient of the ministrie within every province, as the ancient plateforme thereof."

It will be more convenient to bring together here what relates to the Second Book of Discipline, which not only greatly differed from the First Book of 1560, but also has been in later times too generally appealed to as the true and proper standard of our Reformed Church, which it is not, unless we shut our eyes to the difference between the narrow exclusiveness of the Presbyterian system of Melville, compared with the freer and more tolerant system of Knox, which was based on Presbytery, but without claiming a monopoly of Scripture for it. The new book originated in the Assembly of 1576, which appointed certain brethren to make an overture of the policy and jurisdiction of the Kirk—for the west country, the Bishop of Glasgow, Andrew Melville, Andrew Hay, James Greig, David Cunninghame; for Lothian, Robert Pont, James Lawson, David Lindsay, Clement Little, and Alexander Syme; for Fife, the Superintendent of Fife, and principal masters of the university; for Angus and Mearns, the Laird of Dun, William Chrystison, John Row, William Rynd, John Duncanson; for Aberdeen, John Craig, Alexander Arbuthnot, George Hay: the divisions to meet in Glasgow, Edinburgh, St. Andrews, and Montrose: the joint meeting to be in Stirling, where each section was to be represented by two members, or at least by one, and to report to next Assembly in October. At the October meeting the matter was again remitted to Craig, Chrystison, Hay, Cunninghame, Row, Greig, Lawson, Lindsay, Pont, Ferguson, Robert Hamilton, John Robertson, and Erskine of Dun. In the Assembly of 1st October, 1577, all was finished except the three heads—*de Diaconatu, de Jure Patronatus,* and *de Divortiis.* In the Assembly of 25th October of the same year all was complete except the head *de Diaconatu,* which was to be given in with a note, as agreed

to by a majority, "without prejudice of further reasoning," and presented to the regent. Endeavours were made year by year in vain to secure the sanction of regent or king for the book, which in 1581 was inserted in the registers of the Assembly. It was sworn to in the National Covenant, and revived and ratified by the Assembly of 1638. It was first recognized by Parliament in establishing the Church in 1592, and again similarly in 1690.

The book is divided into thirteen chapters, of which the titles are:

(1) Of the Kirk and policie thereof in general, and wherein it is different from the civil policie. (2) Of the policie of the Kirk, and persons and office-bearers to whom the administration is committed. (3) How the persons that have ecclesiastical functions are to be admitted to their office. (4) Of the office-bearers in particular, and first of the pastors or ministers. (5) Of doctors and of their office, and of the schooles. (6) Of elders and their office. (7) Of the elderships, assemblies, and discipline. (8) Of the deacons and their office, the last ordinary function in the Kirk. (9) Of the patrimonie of the Kirk, and distribution thereof. (10) Of the office of a Christian magistrate in the Kirk. (11) Of the present abuses remaining in the Kirk, which we desire to be reformed. (12) Certain special heads of reformation which we desire. (13) The utilitie that should flow from this reformation to all estates.

A comparison of the arrangement of ecclesiastical offices is interesting. Whereas there were five offices under the First Book, now there are only four—superintendent and reader are dropped, and we have minister (or bishop), doctor (or teacher), elder (or presbyter), and deacon. The weak points here are the rash introduction of doctor or teacher, the splitting up of the one office of presbyter into a teaching and a ruling branch, followed by the degradation of the real diaconate.

The doctor was a university professor or teacher of the higher order, and the proper dignity and use of schools of learning was a great feature of the Reformed Church; but it was awkward to class them alongside purely ecclesiastical offices.[1] As yet the modern Church courts of Presbyterianism were not fully distinguished. Nowhere in the Second Book

[1] Teacher or doctor retains a like place in the "Form of Presbyterial Church Government and of Ordination of Ministers agreed upon by the Assembly of Divines at Westminster," and approved by the General Assembly in 1645. It is also vigorously defended, both in theory and practice, as an ecclesiastical office, by so sound an authority as Principal Lee, Lect. XIV.

of Discipline is a claim made for Presbytery as a Divine institution.

At the same time the compilers of the book claim "that the whole of the scheme was not merely agreeable to the Word of God, but expressly authorized and enjoined by Divine authority." The real views of the compilers on the subject are seen in many references in the Records of Assembly; *e.g.*, 10th May, 1586:—"There are four offices ordinare sett down to us be the Scripture, to witt, pastors, doctors, elders, and deacones, and the name of a bischop ought not to be taken, as it hath been in Papistrie; but it is common to all pastores and ministers."[1] In fact the whole dealing of the Assembly with bishops when under Melville's influence proceeded on the *assumption* of their being unscriptural and corrupt, as seen in decision of the Assembly of 1580, quoted above. This idea has descended to modern times as a sort of tradition in Scotland, but for a generation past has been generally abandoned.

When minister (or bishop) and elder (or presbyter) are held as two offices, each distinct from that of deacon, this is not inconsistent with the view accepted by the best modern critics, that originally bishop and presbyter were convertible terms; and the duality was adopted as a matter of practical convenience to distinguish those bishops or presbyters who *both* teach and rule, from other bishops or presbyters who rule *only*, according to what is said in 1 Timothy v. 17—"Let the elders that rule well be counted worthy of double honour, especially they who labour in the word and doctrine." This solitary text, however, even though it were correctly interpreted (which it is not), is far too narrow a basis for the superstructure of our kirk-sessions. Melville and his party took the "ruling well" to refer to men co-operating with ministers, but working under them, whereas the Episcopal party understood both the "ruling well" and "double honour" to allude to ministers themselves who in certain cases were more competent than the average of their own order, and who accordingly came to the front in important matters and occasions.

A vast improvement would have been to have confined the synonymous words bishop, presbyter, and elder, to the minister,

[1] Peterkin, 292.

and to have named our present lay or *ruling* elder by the name of deacon—thus more clearly bringing out the *twofold* office in the Christian Church.

Sorrowful has been the lot of deacons in Scotland. They are members of no church court. Their call and election have no clear rules in our Books of Discipline. Their office is degraded to mere finance, "to receave and distribut the haill ecclesiastical guids." Once they collected stipend, but now the minister does it. In 1886 they existed in only 78 out of 1320 parishes.

Great would be our gain in point of clearness were we to revert to Scriptural treatment of the office, on the basis of Acts vi. 1–8; Phil. i. 1; 1 Tim. iii. 8–13. This would imply discontinuance of the name of "elder," which is a misnomer for members of kirk-sessions, and the substitution of deacons, which is beyond all question the proper name to mark their most useful and honourable functions.

Of the Parliamentary sanction given in 1592 to the Second Book of Discipline, it has been judiciously said[1]:—"It placed the ministers in the situation which they had long been desirous to occupy; it gave them reason to hope that, secured against opposition, they might now devote themselves to the spiritual concerns of the community; and it afforded to the king an opportunity of gaining their confidence, and, through this, the best wishes and the steady loyalty of his people. Had he followed this gracious act, as he was prudently advised to do, by such a provision to the clergy as would have exempted them from the hardships of poverty, he would have identified their duty and their interest with the just exercise of his prerogative; he would have perceived that rough and severe censure by which the ministers in their pulpits shocked his feelings and irritated his passions, daily softening; he would soon have heard inculcated manly and rational sentiments respecting what was due to the person and the office of the sovereign; and he might have anticipated by nearly a century that state of the Presbyterian Church which has existed since the Revolution —a state no less favourable to the constitutional rights of the king than to the liberties of the subject."

[1] Cook, i. 469.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE SECOND GREAT STRUGGLE OF PRESBYTERY, 1596-1638.

The Church Council ordered to quit Edinburgh—The Octavians—Meddlesomeness of the Church at Holyrood—Court removed to Linlithgow—Church agrees to clergy voting in Parliament—Perpetual moderators—King James's book, "Basilikon Doron"—Edinburgh ministers banished—The king's defiance of the Church—Succeeds Queen Elizabeth—Summons certain leading ministers to London—Andrew Melville sent to the Tower—Trial of Welsh of Ayr and others—The Convention of Linlithgow—The Scottish Inquisition—The Acts of the muzzled Assembly at Glasgow—Return of the king to Scotland—The Five Articles of Perth—Death and character of King James—Accession and marriage of Charles I.—His English Parliaments—His tyranny over the Scottish Church—The new Service Book and Canons—Paper of Grievances and Supplication to the king drawn up—Riot in St. Giles'—Jenny Geddes—Extended opposition to the Service Book—The "Four Tables"—The royal proclamation and the protestation—The Covenanters—The king agrees to cancel the Canons, &c.—Unreasonableness of the Covenanters—First fully recognized Assembly for thirty years—The Second Reformation.

WHEN we start again from the date of 1596, we enter on a fresh and long era of struggle, divided into two parts—1596–1638, and 1638–1688. The earlier period, from 1572 to 1592, marks the first struggle, chiefly associated with Melville. The next period is from 1596 to 1638, at which point Presbytery was triumphant in the National Covenant and in the General Assembly at Glasgow. The third is from 1638, through the darkest time of both our ecclesiastical and civil history, under Cromwell and Charles II., to the Revolution of 1688.

The question of the recall of the exiled earls (Huntly and Errol were already back in disguise) made a permanent and bitter breach between the king and his favourite Bruce. The same topic was the occasion of the scene between Melville and the king at Cupar. On 19th October the Countess of Huntly petitioned the Synod of Moray to receive her husband's penitence. The king and court allowed the rebel lords to remain till May, 1597, in hope of reconcilement to the Church. Meanwhile, on 20th October, the Commissioners of Assembly, and certain deputies from synods, appointed a fast and a Council of the Church, both of which, with a sermon by Black of St. Andrews, increased the excitement. The Secret Council retaliated by ordering the members of the Council of the Church to quit Edinburgh within twenty-four hours, and Black to enter

himself in ward beyond the Tay. These proceedings, unfriendly to the Church, were supposed to be partly the result of the influence of eight commissioners of exchequer nominated by the king in January, 1596, popularly called Octavians—viz. Alexander Seton, lord president of Session; Walter Stuart, prior of Blantyre; John Lindsay of Balcarres; John Skene, clerk register; Peter Young, almoner; Sir David Carnegie; James Elphinstone, senator of the College of Justice; and Thomas Hamilton, king's advocate. Another cause of the turn of feeling on the part of king and court against the Church was undoubtedly the unreasonable meddling of the Church with the private talk and manners of Holyrood. The Assembly had the impertinence and senselessness formally to depute three ministers to confer with the king concerning his own sins and those of his household in six articles of complaint, the last of which dealt with the queen's late hours and balls! Little wonder the king was galled and alienated. In fact some allege that he had never been very hearty or sincere in the sanction of the Church in 1592, and now reverted, on opportunity or provocation, to his own real views.

On 17th December a riot in Edinburgh arose from the collision between the jurisdictions of Church and State, upon which the king and court left for Linlithgow, and threatened to remove the law courts there also.

On 1st January, 1597, the king returned to Edinburgh in triumph. He developed his altered sentiments in an Assembly in March at Perth, and another in May at Dundee, taking up the plausible cry of a minister for every kirk and a stipend for every minister, but aiming really at getting a standing commission of ministers appointed to vote in Parliament as bishops. On 26th June the full restoration of the Popish earls took place in Aberdeen, where they received the communion as Presbyterians in St. Nicholas' Church. In December Parliament received commissioners of the Assembly seeking a vote in Parliament for a limited number of ministers. On the part of the Church (by management of a meeting in the *north* and the king's *presence*), in March, 1598, an Assembly at Dundee agreed to this by a majority of ten. The Assembly concluded that it was necessary and expedient for the weal of the Church that the minis-

try, as the third estate, should vote in Parliament in name of the Church, and that the number admitted be fifty-one, as it had been of old, in place of the bishops, abbots, and priors. They were to be elected partly by the king and partly by the Church; but the specific regulations were remitted for consideration to presbyteries and synods, who were to consult with the doctors of the universities. At the close of this Assembly protestation was made by John Davidson of Prestonpans that none of the Acts passed should be held as valid, because the Assembly had not been free, but had been overawed by the king. When the proposal as to clerics voting in Parliament was made earlier in the Synod of Fife, Davidson had used the oft-quoted words, "Busk him, busk him as bonnily as ye can, and fetch him in as fairly as ye will, we see him well enough, we can discern the horns of his mitre"—thus declaring his anticipation that the ulterior aim of the king was a complete Episcopal system. Next year certain propositions drawn from the king's book, "Basilikon Doron" (which had been surreptitiously procured), were laid before the Synod of Fife by Dykes of Anstruther, and condemned, which ended in the king being forced to publish the book.

On 18th March, 1600, an Assembly at Montrose agreed to regulations as to the election and maintenance of those who should vote in Parliament, the chief being that, on a vacancy, the king select one from a list of six names given by the Church. Many *caveats* were appended to the consent of the Assembly. These points had previously been agreed on at a meeting of commissioners at Falkland, 29th July, 1598. How far the Church really was at this date from assenting to Episcopacy in agreeing to clergy voting in Parliament, appears from the fact that those so voting were to be called commissioners and not bishops, and that they were annually to report to the Assembly, and demit their office, unless expressly renewed by church or king. A further restriction was added that these commissioners were not to be members of Assembly unless specially appointed by their presbyteries.

On 5th August occurred the Gowrie plot, in which young Earl Gowrie and his brother, Alexander Ruthven, were slain, and the king got free. Ministers in Edinburgh refused to

believe the story, and five of them were banished for their disrespectful incredulity, but soon restored.

The same year that witnessed the Montrose Assembly—wherein clerical voting in Parliament was agreed to, but with express rejection of the name of bishop and stipulation for that of commissioner, witnessed the king's deliberate defiance by promoting three of the commissioners—David Lindsay of Leith, Peter Blackburn of Aberdeen, and George Gladstanes of St. Andrews—to be respectively bishops of Ross, Aberdeen, and Caithness. Thus was the king chargeable with the double violence, first, of procuring the forced assent of the church courts to a basis for his intended scheme, and then as soon as he had secured a bare foundation, breaking faith with his own pliant friends, and doing the very thing against which they had expressly stipulated when they met, so far, the royal wishes in the matter of the parliamentary representation of the Church.

"This Assembly," says Dr. Cook, "may be considered as having introduced a new form of ecclesiastical polity, and as thus marking an epoch in the history of the Church of Scotland. Instead of the parity for which Melville, in conformity with the principles which he had embraced at Geneva, had strenuously contended, and which he had successfully established, there was recognized an order of ministers who, in addition to the pastoral office, had civil duties to perform, and were consequently in a different situation from the rest of their brethren. That it was his anxious wish to restore prelacy, his conduct plainly evinces; yet what was the result of his interference, and of that readiness to coincide with him, in so far as they believed that they could conscientiously do so, which the commissioners appointed by the Assembly manifested [at Falkland]? Far from being able to prevail upon them to restore even the modified form of Episcopacy which had been introduced by the Convention of Leith, they displayed the utmost aversion to any essential distinction amongst ministers; and though they conceded the vote in Parliament, they preserved the fundamental maxims of that Presbyterian polity to which they had ever been warmly attached. This should have suggested to James the line of policy which it was prudent

to pursue. He must now have been satisfied that he could depend upon the loyalty of the Church, and that he could effectually remove the practices which were inconsistent with the dignity and security of his government. He should therefore have consulted the feelings, or. as he regarded them, the prejudices of his people, and given unequivocal proof that, in return for their support of his throne, they would find him the zealous champion of their religious liberty, and the watchful guardian of the ecclesiastical constitution which their conviction of its conformity to the Word of God rendered it to them a sacred duty to defend. Had he thus acted he would have gained the affections of his subjects; he would have seen himself surrounded by men actuated by the firm and chivalrous loyalty by which the Scottish nation had for ages been distinguished; and he would not only have increased the comfort of his own reign, but would have prevented those numberless calamities which afterwards spread misery throughout Britain."

On 24th March, 1603, died Queen Elizabeth, to whom James succeeded. On 3rd April he attended St. Giles', and at the close of the service made a farewell speech. He held a conference at Hampton Court after his arrival in England, where nine bishops, seven deans, and one archdeacon represented Episcopacy, and four ministers represented the Puritans. In September, 1606, eight Scotch ministers, including Andrew and James Melville, were sent for to London, to be similarly reasoned with. Day by day they were plied with controversial sermons, in vain. At last (for a Latin epigram on the Chapel Royal altar furniture) Andrew Melville was convicted of *scandalum magnatum*, and sent to the Tower. James Melville was exiled to Newcastle and Berwick. The others were put under restrictions in Scotland. The fate of Andrew Melville merits special attention. After lying four years a prisoner in the Tower, he was released in 1611 to go as professor of divinity to Sedan, where he died in exile about 1622, at the age of seventy-seven. There are few sadder chapters in Scottish literature than the tenth in M'Crie's "Life of Andrew Melville," which records the scanty traces of the last eleven years of one of the greatest, boldest, and most patriotic Scots-

men of that generation, yearning for news of a church and land from which he was severed by a tricky despot. It was a base act for the king to summon these clergymen to London from their native land, on pretence of conference on church affairs, and then pass severe sentences in an alien court, to which they owed no jurisdiction, and where no friends were at hand to interpose to secure a fair trial.

On 2nd July, 1605, an Assembly was held at Aberdeen, which gave much future trouble. Straiton, laird of Laurieston, was present as commissioner, with a letter from the Privy Council. Twenty-one ministers met, with Forbes of Alford as moderator. He and Welsh of Ayr were imprisoned. On the 24th of July, called before the Council in Edinburgh, they declined submission, and were warded in Blackness. On 2nd August Robert Durie (Anstruther), Andrew Duncan (Crail), Alexander Strachan (Creich), and John Sharp (Kilmany) appeared before the Council, and were warded there also. On 3rd October other fourteen were cited, of whom seven were warded. The first six were tried by assize on 10th January, 1606, at Linlithgow, for treasonable declinature of the king's authority. The jury was tampered with, and gave a conviction. The six were sent back to Blackness to await the king's pleasure. Bearing on this trial a letter is extant written by Sir Thomas Hamilton to the king, on the day on which the sentence was passed, in which he mentions the difficulties with which he had to struggle, and the infamous methods he was obliged to employ to procure the condemnation of the ministers, and expressing a devout wish he should have no more such work to do. Lord Hailes, in publishing this letter, says, "It gives a more lively idea of those times than a hundred chronicles could do; and that we here see the prime minister, in order to obtain a sentence agreeable to the king, address the judges with promises and threats, pack the jury, and then deal with them without scruple and ceremony." To the credit of part of the jury, so strong was the sense of the injustice of the trial, that six of the fifteen refused, after six hours' consultation, to bring in a verdict of guilty, and one of them nobly said that he not only absolved them from the crime of treason, but regarded them as faithful ser-

vants to Christ, and good subjects to the king. The systematic use of methods, in which artifice, intimidation, and violence were thus employed to thwart Presbytery and promote Episcopacy, have produced in Scotland the natural but untoward result of prejudicing our nation unduly against a form of church government which is not contrary to, although not prescribed in Scripture, and which has certain advantages, as providing a prompt executive and a natural reward for professional ability.

At Perth, in July, 1606, Parliament confirmed the king's prerogative declaring him supreme over all persons and causes, and restored the temporal estate of bishops without reference to caveats—against which a protestation was signed by forty-three ministers. The same Parliament erected a number of prelacies into temporal lordships—the two Acts being the fruit of an agreement between the bishops and the lords. On the 10th December of the same eventful year, at a time when the Church had been weakened by the removal of eight of her ablest ministers detained in England (including the two Melvilles) and fourteen others associated with the Aberdeen Assembly of 1605 exiled or "warded," a convention of ministers, summoned by royal missive to presbyteries, met at Linlithgow, consisting of 136 ministers, with 33 nobles and elders, and agreed to an overture by the king, that bishops should preside in meetings within their bounds where resident, and elsewhere that the oldest, gravest, and most experienced minister should act as fixed and constant moderator—the constant moderators to have a special salary of £100 Scots. It was afterwards objected that this was not a General Assembly, and that the minute of the meeting was altered at court so as to include synods as well as presbyteries to be under constant moderators. In fact so impudently unconstitutional was the convention that, besides agreeing to the new law, it dictated the names of the permanent moderators, and appointed them also to be constituent members of each General Assembly. But amid all her sufferings—by banishment of leaders, and packing of church courts, and orders to pass suicidal laws—the clergy still held firm a large measure of the old spirit of independence. The Synod of Angus yielded only after struggle. Some yielded through compulsion. Fife, Lothian, and Merse refused constant

moderators. The Synod of Perth, in the spring of 1607, defiantly elected Henry Livingston in the face of Lord Scone, the king's commissioner, who bullied and stormed, and knocked over a table, and locked the door—all in vain. While the synods thus stood up for the liberties of the Church, the presbyteries for the most part were wheedled or coerced, and some, as is said, even bribed.[1] When the Assembly next met, in July, 1608, the three Popish earls—Huntly, Errol, and Angus—were again harassed by imprisonment and excommunication, and their Church further proceeded against in its seminary priests, pilgrimages, and literature.

Parliament met in Edinburgh, 24th June, 1609, and passed an Act in favour of the bishops, restoring to them the old jurisdiction of commissariats, touching wills and marriages, and of spiritual and ecclesiastical causes, the Court of Session being authorized to enforce the execution of their sentences. Within a month of this Archbishop Spottiswoode of Glasgow became a judge of the Court of Session, and the new policy had its climax in February, 1610, when two courts of high commission, specially for church cases, were set up by the royal authority without sanction of Parliament, one in each archbishopric, the two being made one in 1615. Certain bishops and certain laymen were appointed members of these courts, and any five members, of whom the archbishop must be one, formed a quorum. They had power to call summarily before them any supposed offender in life or religion, try them, and if impenitent, issue a mandate for their excommunication by the minister of their parish. If the parish minister refused, the court could proceed by suspension, deposition, or imprisonment. They could fine at discretion every one summoned before them, and on a warrant signed by the archbishop they could also imprison. In cases of contumacy the Privy Council were commanded to employ the whole force of the government in executing the sentences of the commission; and if the persons summoned did not obey the council, they were denounced as rebels. The commission was specially authorized to watch over the conduct and conversation of all ministers, preachers, and teachers in schools, colleges, or universities, and to proceed against those who used

[1] Principal Lee, ii. 180.

impertinent speeches in public. Such was the Scottish version of the Spanish Inquisition, which at one sweep withdrew every clerical and scholastic man from the shelter of the law and constitution of his native land, and put him under an arbitrary despotism.

In June, 1610, a muzzled Assembly was held at Glasgow under missives from Whitehall. It was composed of thirteen bishops, thirteen nobles, forty barons, and above a hundred ministers, with Archbishop Spottiswoode as moderator, and Earl Dunbar as high commissioner. Notice was sent in advance to presbyteries by the moderator as to what ministers he wished sent as members. Even with this precaution no open debate was allowed, but only results of private conference were presented in eleven propositions to be registered by the Assembly. Moreover, there was the peculiar accompaniment of money payments, whether as travelling expenses or as salaries, to the permanent moderators of presbyteries. Archbishop Spottiswoode in his History declares the payments to have been arrears of the salaries of the constant moderators since their appointment in 1606. If the money was not the price of votes, the time of its payment would have been more seemly elsewhere in the calendar and elsewhere in the country.

As the Acts of this Assembly are of special importance, they are here given at length. It was ordained—

1. That the indiction of General Assemblies of the Church belonged to his Majesty, by the prerogative of his crown; that all such convocations held without his permission were unlawful; that the Assembly held in Aberdeen in 1605 without his Majesty's authority was null and void; and that an Assembly should be held once a year.

2. That synods should be kept in every diocese twice a year, in April and October, in which the archbishop or bishop of the diocese should be moderator; and that where, from the extent of the dioceses, it was expedient that there should be several other meetings, a clergyman appointed by the archbishop or bishop should preside.

3. That no sentence of excommunication or absolution should be pronounced against or in favour of any person without the knowledge and approbation of the bishop of the diocese, who must be answerable to his Majesty for the regularity of his proceedings; and that when a process has been fairly and legally finished, sentence should be pronounced at the bishop's direction by the minister of the parish in which the offender dwells. To this regulation it was added, that if the bishop should delay pronouncing sentence against any person that deserved it, whose process had proceeded to a proper length, and should be convicted of this by the General Assembly,

advertisement should be made to his Majesty, to the effect that another prelate might be elected to the see.

4. That, for the future, all presentations should be directed to the bishop of the diocese; that a testimonial of the life and abilities of the person presented should be sent to the bishop by the neighbouring ministry; and that the bishop upon his own examination, finding him qualified, should take the assistance of the ministers of the district in which the person is to officiate, and then perfect the whole act of ordination.

5. That in cases of deposition the bishop, with some ministers in the neighbourhood where the delinquent officiated, should proceed to try the cause and to pronounce sentence.

6. That every minister at his admission should swear obedience to his Majesty and his ordinary, according to the form agreed upon at a conference held in the year 1571.

7. That the visitation of the diocese should be done by the bishop himself, and if the bounds were greater than he could overtake, that he should then make special choice and appoint some worthy minister of the diocese to visit for him; and that whatever minister should, without lawful excuse, refuse to appear at the visitation or diocesan assembly, should be suspended from his office and benefice, and if he did not amend, should be deprived.

8. That exercise of doctrine should be continued weekly amongst the ministers at the time of their accustomed meetings, to be moderated by the bishop, if he were present; or if not, by any other whom he should appoint at the time of synod.

9. That the bishops should be subject in all things concerning their life, conversation, office, and benefice to the censure of the General Assembly, and being found culpable, should, with his Majesty's consent and advice, be deprived.

10. That no bishop should be elected under forty years of age, who had not actually taught as a minister for ten years.

11. That no minister, either in the pulpit or in public exercise, should argue against or disobey the acts of this present Assembly, under the penalty of deprivation; and particularly, that the question of equality or inequality in the ministry should not be discussed in the pulpit, under the same forfeiture.

After all the strife, convulsions, oppressions, and cruelties created in the interest of bishops by regent, court, and king from 1572 till 1610, it is startling to find thus late that Scotland had no real bishop after all, and more so to find that the bishops themselves were unaware of their not being genuine till it was discovered and revealed by the king in London; and most startling of all to find that after consecration by three English bishops, with the king himself as master of ceremonies, they did not get the true stamp, having been summarily raised to the episcopate without passing through any ordination as presbyters or as deacons, and possibly not

even being baptized Christians. After the Glasgow Assembly, Spottiswoode (archbishop of Glasgow), Lamb (bishop of Brechin), and Hamilton (bishop of Galloway), set out for London, where the king informed them that his object in sending for them was that they might be properly consecrated, and that on their return they might properly consecrate others in Scotland. To avoid the old jealousy of the jurisdiction of York or Canterbury, the consecrating English bishops selected were London, Ely, and Bath. Montagu of Bath could not attend, but Neale of Rochester and Parry of Worcester acted instead, and the function took place in the chapel of London House on the 21st of October. On arrival in Scotland the three reals proceeded to consecrate ten nominals—viz. Gladstanes, St. Andrews; Blackburn, Aberdeen; Douglas, Moray; Graham, Dunblane; David Lindsay, Ross; Forbes, Caithness; Law, Orkney; Alexander Lindsay, Dunkeld; Campbell, Argyll; and Knox, the Isles. St. Andrews and Orkney were consecrated in the parish church of St. Andrews, 30th December, 1610. On Sunday, 30th January and 24th February, 1611, some were consecrated at St. Andrews and Edinburgh, and some at Leith—Caithness and Aberdeen being consecrated at Brechin. For none of these consecrations was there any consultation of presbyteries, synods, or assemblies, although all of these were still recognized courts of the Church. It does strike one as odd, being unhistoric and mal-geographic, to hear tell of a Scottish Episcopal Church, not only the orders of which, but the very idea of which, came from England; for it was not till seven years after James VI. was James I. of England, where he had learned this new lesson, that we have the first hint of any fundamental flaw in the aboriginal tulchans. Not till the Parliament of 16th October, 1612, at Edinburgh, were these proceedings legalized, for then was the Act of 1592, which established Presbytery, rescinded; and then were the opposing ecclesiastical acts of Assembly, 1610, ratified, with new modifications never even considered in any Assembly.

At this stage we may fairly consider Episcopacy as legally settled in Scotland. The successive steps by which conformity to Episcopacy was established may be thus enumerated:—(1) By granting to ministers a vote in Parliament, 18th March,

1600; (2) by appointing perpetual moderators, 10th December, 1606; (3) by the erection of the High Commission in February, 1610 and 1615; (4) by giving bishops the sole power of ordaining and depriving ministers in Assembly, 6th June, 1610; (5) by the consecration of the bishops in London, 21st October, 1610; (6) by their confirmation in Parliament, 28th June, 1617.[1] But how are we to estimate the means which led to this result, more especially as regards the amount of national acceptance, clerical or popular. An Episcopal historian of considerable industry and ability estimates as follows from his point of view:—"It will thus be seen that the Episcopal Church was established in Scotland in the course of a few years without any formidable contentions. Some of the more violent of the Presbyterian preachers grumbled and remonstrated, but no civil war, no riots, no commotions ensued. In reality the great mass of the people were passive, and no serious opposition was even attempted. The Church was established, moreover, by Parliaments of the whole nobility of the kingdom, and the representatives of the counties and royal burghs. Such are the principal facts, however much they may be distorted or denied by the Presbyterian writers."[2]

Very different from this is the estimate of one who was not blinded by the end in judging the means. Dr. Cook[3] says:—"The Episcopal form of church government was thus introduced into Scotland, and was thus fully established. It is impossible not to be struck with the singular contrast between the mode in which it gained the ascendency, and the mode in which the Presbyterian discipline was endeared to the affections of the nation. In tracing the progress of Melville, and of those who embraced his views, it was often necessary to advert to the bold language which they assumed, and to that independence of sentiment and conduct which sometimes appeared scarcely reconcilable with submission to government; but they never lost sight of the happiness and the improvement of the people; they acted upon the noble principles of liberty, and uniformly refused to sacrifice to the caprice of the sove-

[1] Principal Lee, ii. 196.

[2] Lawson, "The Episcopal Church of Scotland, from the Reformation to the Revolution," 318.

[3] Hist. ii. 249.

reign what they believed to be necessary for averting slavery, or for preserving uncontaminated the sources of moral and religious instruction.

"There was nothing in Episcopacy itself which should have prevented it from equally avowing and feeling the most tender concern for political freedom; but the fact is undoubted that it associated itself with the prerogative of the monarch, and advanced under the shadow of that prerogative. From the moment that the design of introducing it began to be accomplished the king assumed a tone of authority to which his Scottish subjects had never been accustomed to listen; the Assemblies of the Church were controlled; the most unwarrantable acts of oppression were committed; the men who should have preserved the purity of government debased it by seeking, contrary to justice and to law, to punish all who were obnoxious to the court; and to crown the whole, that the opposition made to ecclesiastical innovation might be suppressed, the High Commission, the most frightful engine of despotism, was transferred to a kingdom where in the darkest times it had been happily unknown."

Not satisfied with the arbitrary measures already taken, fresh foundations of a like sort were prepared in an Assembly at Aberdeen on 13th August, 1616, the members of which were not elected by presbyteries, but appointed under dictation; and similarly the moderator, Archbishop Spottiswoode of St. Andrews, took his seat not by election but as of right. After more legislation against the Romanists (Father Ogilvie, the Jesuit, had been executed on 28th February, 1615, at Glasgow, on the same day as he received his sentence) a new Confession of Faith was composed and sanctioned—bishops were invested with fresh powers, a new Catechism was ordered, and, especially, certain ministers were appointed to revise the Book of Common Prayer, to adapt it for use at all times of common prayer—*i.e.* to take away the liberty used since 1560 of a choice between free prayer and Knox's Liturgy. To this was added a resolution—"It is thought most necessary and expedient that there be an uniformity of church discipline throughout all the churches of this kingdom, and to that effect it is ordained that a Book of Canons be made and published in print, drawn forth of the

books of former Assemblies; and where the same is defective, that it be supplied by canons of councils, and ecclesiastical conventions in former times." Archbishop Law of Glasgow and William Struthers, minister of Edinburgh, were to prepare these canons for the Commissioners of Assembly, who were to examine and approve them, and present them to the king for his sanction. Other regulations were passed relative to examination of children for confirmation, communicating at Easter, and registers of births, marriages, and deaths—all these being the precursors of the famous Articles of Perth.

After thirteen years' absence, the king arrived in Edinburgh on 16th May, 1617. Parliament met 28th June, when the king submitted to the Lords of the Articles a proposal equivalent to the abolition of Assemblies—"That whatsoever his Majesty should determine touching the external government of the Church, with the advice of the archbishops, bishops, and a competent number of the clergy, should have the strength of a law." For making protestation against this, Hewat of Edinburgh, Simson of Dalkeith, and David Calderwood of Crailing were deprived of office and imprisoned, Calderwood being also banished.[1] An Assembly at St. Andrews, 25th November, proved even yet unmanageable in regard of some plans submitted by the king, which they refused to deal with till a fuller Assembly was met.

An Assembly, specially notable for passing the Five Articles of Perth, met 25th August, 1618—Lords Binning, Scone, snd Carnegy being the king's commissioners. Archbishop Spottiswoode took the chair as of right. The king's letter was twice read. Open discussion was not allowed, and the Five Articles were voted in slump. Before voting, threats were made to report every recusant's name to the king. Eighty-six voted for the Articles, forty-nine against, three declined to vote. William Scot of Cupar and John Carmichael of Kilconquhar led the opposition. The articles were in substance as follows:—(1) Enjoining kneeling at communion; (2) permitting communion in private houses in case of sickness; (3) permitting private baptism on necessary cause; (4) enjoining the confirmation by the bishop of children eight years old; (5) orders for observing

[1] This Protestation is given by Lee, ii. 192.

as holy-days Christmas Day, Good Friday, Easter Day, Ascension, and Whitsunday, with abstinence from business and attendance on worship. Afterwards ministers refused to read the order anent the Articles from the pulpit, people avoided the churches where they were observed, and the terrors of the High Commission were used to enforce obedience. In 1621 the Five Articles were ratified in Parliament, but even there with a great struggle—seventy-seven voting for, fifty against, the majority being gained only by the votes of the bishops and higher nobility. The closing years of the king's life are of little importance in Scottish Church history, as they were mainly occupied with an attempt to arrange a Spanish marriage for his heir, Prince Charles, who, in 1623, with the profligate Duke of Buckingham, made a sudden and secret visit to Spain, which ended in nothing. Another closely kindred matter of the period was an attempt, in the Parliament of 1621, to help the king's son-in-law, the Elector Palatine, who had married the Princess Elizabeth, and was in great straits, in an unsuccessful war after the battle of Prague. A third matter was the plantation of Nova Scotia by Sir W. Alexander, earl of Stirling.

The king died 27th May, 1625, in the fifty-ninth year of his age. The personal character of James VI. is a strange medley. We cannot blame him for his physical fear of the sight of a drawn sword, because that defect was inborn, coming from his mother's alarm when Rizzio was stabbed clinging to her dress. Moreover, as a child, he was unable to walk until the age of seven, and was all his days somewhat feeble and peculiar in his limbs and gait, one intimate contemporary describing the movement of his feet or limbs as "circular." Another physical peculiarity was that his tongue was too large for his mouth, so that in drinking he was forced to make facial motions corresponding to those made in eating, while at the same time the two extremities of the mouth inclined to leak down either side of the chin. Besides his experiences of treason in 1582 at Ruthven, in 1600 at Gowrie House, and 1605 in the Gunpowder Plot—not to speak of the earlier contentions for the possession of his person—he seems to have had a constant fear of assassination or seizure, as seen in his padded clothing, and in the curious case of his visit to Sir George Bruce's mine at Culross.

His personal manners and amusements were coarse, and his language full of nasty oaths.[1] An essential silliness of mind shows itself in the succession of favourites on whom he depended, and who interfered with or superseded the king's proper relation with the recognized officers of state and legal courts. He began with half a dozen private schoolmates under the tutorship of George Buchanan; and their share in sports and floggings ended in grants of church lands with corresponding titles. About 1572 these were succeeded by Earl Morton; then he passed in 1579 to Captain James Stuart, who became Earl of Arran, and to Esmé Lord Daubigny, who became Duke of Lennox; then from 1587 to 1596 (the wedding and Presbyterian period) came the *cameraderie* of Robert Bruce, minister of Edinburgh. In England the same silly process went on even more injuriously from 1607, in the case of the Scotsman Carr, who became Earl of Somerset, and passed to Villiers, who became Duke of Buckingham, and ruled the king from 1617 till his death. The total absence of soldierliness and bravery in James showed itself in his resort to mean and undignified devices, as when at the examination of Andrew Melville he planned to overhear from behind a screen, and when he issued the millinery ordinance for judicial and pulpit clothing, under pretence of pleasing tourists! Wonderful was his vanity, specially shown in speech-making on all occasions, even during church service and in church courts. Most troublesome of all was his self-will and self-worship in his diseased doctrine of prerogative or Divine right, to which all, as he thought, should yield without question. In short, to speak plainly, there was an undoubted element of crack-brainedness in the king, joined with a certain dash of cleverness—the former, with the vanity and wilfulness, probably inherited from his father Darnley. Such was the curious personal and royal force that was the origin of so much change, trouble, suffering, and exile, especially in the ecclesiastical department of Scottish life, during his whole reign, from the age of twelve to fifty-nine; and it was rather hard that free and reasonable men, born under a good and old state that had maintained its independence, both civil and ecclesiastical, should be made playthings by a royal oddity like this.

[1] Sir J. Balfour, "Annals," ii. 108–115.

Looking at some of the aims of James VI. in the light of the present Church of Scotland, apart from the gross mismanagement of the king in forcing them by royal mandate and persecution, instead of using constitutional and gradual methods; looking at his aims also apart from the later chapter of the Covenants from 1638 to 1698—it is a remarkable fact that many of these old aims of the half-crazy despot are in themselves now regarded partly as harmless, and partly as even desirable and near of realization by the free choice and judgment of genuine and consistent Presbyterians. Of the Five Articles of Perth, at least three are in this position. So far from private baptism being objected to, it has for a generation past been a growing evil in the Church. Communion in private houses in sickness, although not yet formally permitted, has many among the more thoughtful of the clergy who are in favour of it, under reasonable regulations, as an ordinance fitted to edify the sick, and that might safely be adopted. As to the observance of the five chief days of commemoration, several of them are already widely accepted by the Church of Scotland; and it would be far better to accept all the five ecclesiastically than to have them piecemeal and secularly foisted on us in scraps of parliamentary legislation, touching bank holidays, railways, school-sessions, and law-court vacations. The proposal of constant moderators for Presbyteries, which created panic and storm in 1606, is after all as nearly as possible the very plan which men of insight see to be needed in the present day to rescue government by Presbyteries from comparative failure. We greatly need more administrative efficiency, more respect for men of experience and merit, less of equality for drones and striplings, less of *committeeism*, less of rotation and more of selection of the fittest. With moderators of Presbyteries elected for their fitness, and, if elected half yearly, yet renewed till they have fulfilled perhaps five years, a kindred improvement would be the restoration of superintendents, at least for the remoter districts of the country, who would be specially available as moderators of their synods during their tenure of office. Only by methods like these can the Church have any guarantee for being properly represented on social, provincial, or national occasions, when a spokesman or deputy

is required. Above all, would the same method strengthen the Church internally by fostering a body of men specially trained in matters of order, taste, law, polity, and administration; for these higher elements come not from parity but from individual gifts, diligently cultivated till they become masterly, and which ought to be recognized as individual, and not as collective, rotatory, or haphazard. The Prayer Book question, so grossly mismanaged by King James (not to anticipate the further confusion under Charles I.), was a matter then really requiring attention. But it should have been done by the Church itself on the Scottish basis of our Liturgy of 1560, apart from plans of uniformity with England, and apart from royal editorship and compulsory use, which meant the discontinuance of free prayer, which has always been a carefully guarded privilege of the Reformed Church, alike of Scotland and on the Continent. One of the widely recognized needs of the Scottish Church of to-day is the restoration (to be openly and leisurely done) of our old Liturgy and Common Order, in a revised form, to secure more of solemnity and order and comprehensiveness to our public devotions, and to secure uniformity within the Church for the celebration of the sacraments and of marriage, for admission of catechumens, for conferring the diaconate on members of kirk-sessions, for conferring of license on preachers, of ordination on ministers, and perhaps an order for the good old office of superintendent. But for the deep feelings of resentment and suspicion unhappily aroused in the reign of James VI., and embittered in the two reigns that followed, this feeling of favour for the old paths of the first reformers would long ago have prevailed in Presbyterian Scotland.

The death of James in 1625, and the accession of his son Charles I., brought no relief to Scotland. The chief difference lay in Charles being more English and less Scottish than his father, and accordingly, through ignorance of the national taste and temper, more apt to form unworkable plans, and persist in them.

Soon after the accession of Charles his marriage took place with Princess Henrietta Maria of France, daughter of Henry IV. The stipulations in the marriage contract were grossly inconsistent with the principles of a Protestant king and state. They

bore that the queen, her children, and domestics, should be secured in the free exercise of the Roman Catholic religion; that she should have a bishop, invested with all necessary authority in religious matters, with twenty-eight priests or monks, and a chapel in every place where she should reside. She was to have entire charge of the education of her children till they were thirteen years of age. There was also a secret article, that Catholics in England should not be searched after or molested on account of their religion.

The tragic difficulties of the reign of Charles turn on his relation to his English Parliaments, which may be shortly stated thus:—He dissolved his *first*, which had begun most loyally, because it had grown dissatisfied with the state of religion in England, and with the countenance given to Arminians. He dissolved the *second* in 1626 because, instead of yielding subsidies and increasing taxes, it asked redress of grievances, Buckingham's impeachment being demanded by Sir John Eliot. His *third* Parliament, in 1628, drew up the Petition of Right, which was granted by the king, but followed by the Remonstrance from the Parliament, in which Buckingham was named as a chief source of evil, and at this point Buckingham was assassinated at Portsmouth by Lieutenant John Felton. This Parliament ended in the Quarrel of Religion, which was a strong protest against the High Church tyranny of Laud, now bishop of London, his tyranny being the cause of the Pilgrim Fathers seeking liberty of worship in New England. On the dissolution of the third Parliament in 1629, none met for eleven years, during which the mad exercise of the royal prerogative supplied revenue, largely by revival of monopolies, till at last, on the revenue question of ship-money, England was roused by Hampden, just when in Scotland the Prayer Book of Laud was the burning question. It was the Scottish energy in resisting its ecclesiastical tyrant that drove Charles to the dire expedient of summoning what proved to be the Long Parliament, in 1640. By this, in May, 1641, Strafford was executed and Laud imprisoned, the Civil War breaking out in July, 1642, to rage till August, 1646, and matters going worse and worse until the execution of the king in 1649, Laud having already met the fate of Strafford in 1645.

The first collision with his Scottish subjects arose from his project of resuming the grants of tithes and benefices wastefully made by his father to court favourites. This came up in October, 1625, at a Convention of Estates, and greatly stirred a large party of the nobles, so that the Earl of Nithsdale (the king's commissioner) was very near being stabbed at the table. Ultimately the project was carried through, not so as to recover the church wealth, but only to revalue it. Yet much mistrust of the king remained. There was no General Assembly for twenty years, from 1618 to 1638, the only meetings being provincial or diocesan synods, packed and manipulated by the bishops, although in 1627 a meeting of clergy supplicated the king for an Assembly; but their paper was tampered with by the Bishop of Ross, who presented it. On Easter Sunday of 1627, in Edinburgh, only six or seven persons communicated *kneeling*, and fresh controversy arose on the subject of posture, embodied in 1628 in a petition to the king, who was enraged, and demanded the punishment of the petitioners. In 1633 parts of the Scottish coronation ceremonial, where Archbishop Laud acted as prompter, gave new offence. Besides this, in the Parliament of 20th June, two days after the coronation at Edinburgh by Archbishop Spottiswoode, the Acts of 1606 as to the royal prerogative, and of 1609 as to the apparel of churchmen, were both revived by coercing Parliament, the king attending and marking on a list all who voted against his wishes. Even with such barefaced intimidation it was said on the spot by Earl Rothes that the voting was the other way, and that the clerk had exchanged the figures. Lord Balmerino was tried in 1634 for "leasing-making," founded on a stolen or stray copy of a petition to the king stating these grievances. Though condemned to death, a pardon was extorted in November, 1635—such was the heat in the country against the king's folly and tyranny, all over a matter of church tailoring.

The greatest heat of all arose from an attempt to force a new Service Book and canons on the Church. The proposal came out in 1636, and was to have been ripe by Easter, 1637, but the books were not printed in time.

This proposal of 1636, as is worthy of notice, was not of sudden origin, but was the development of an intention enter-

tained for several years, only awaiting some opportunity of realization, and now carried out in spite of many remonstrances on the part of the Church, some of these coming from men who were by no means of the extreme party. The continuance of unconstitutional and violent measures against the Church to repress Presbytery and promote Episcopacy was clearly the purpose of the revival in 1626 of the High Court of Commission, which had expired on the death of James VI. It now consisted of the two archbishops, the Bishops of Ross and Dunblane, the lord chancellor, the Marquis of Huntly, the Earls of Morton, Marshall, Nithsdale, Annandale, and Winton, the Viscount of Aird, the Laird of Thornton, and others to the number of seventeen, who, or any ten of them, the chancellor always being one, were empowered to call all persons before them for transgressing the Acts of Parliament, or for speaking against the king, or misconstructing his laws, proceedings, or progenitors; and to fine, confine, and ward them at pleasure. At the Convention of Estates at Holyrood in July, 1630, a paper of *general grievances* was given in, and supported by Earls Rothes, Cassilis, Linlithgow, and by Lords Yester, Ross, Balmerino, Melville, and Loudon, asking fulfilment of the promise publicly given at the introduction of the late ceremonies (of 1618), that they were to be matters of freedom to be practised as things indifferent; that ministers be not urged at their entry with oaths and subscriptions not allowed by express Act of Parliament; and that ministers deposed, confined, or banished be restored. Through the hostility of the bishops and five or six court lords this was thwarted. Next there was drawn up for the same Convention on 3rd August, and presented by Lord Balmerino, and supported by the above-named noblemen, but resisted and smothered by the bishops and courtiers, a grievance turning on two points: that a new oath was exacted of intrant ministers, superseding the oath expressly set down by Parliament of October, 1612, and shutting the ministry to well qualified men desired by the people; and that in deprivation and suspension of ministers, while the same Act of 1612 requires the bishop to associate to himself the ministers of the bounds where the delinquent serves, no such trial is given, but the bishop acts by himself.

So far from removing or diminishing grievances already existing, the king in 1631 sent a fresh order to the archbishops to arrange for introducing organs to cathedral churches, vesting the clergy and choir in surplices, and adopting a new metrical translation of the Psalms written by the late king, assisted by Sir William Alexander, the secretary. But in the last case the translation was found so fantastic that even the bishops dropped it.

In anticipation of the Parliament that was to meet at Edinburgh, 19th June, 1633, on occasion of the king's visit to Scotland, a paper of grievances and petitions was presented on 29th May by Thomas Hog, minister of the Gospel, to Sir John Hay, clerk register, for presentation to his Majesty and Estates. These grievances bore—that ministers now voted in Parliament absolutely, without regard to special election and the limitations provided in Act of Parliament, December, 1597, at Edinburgh, according to which they were first to have warrant of the Kirk for what they should support by vote, and year by year were to give account to the next General Assembly of what they have done since the last; further, that the ratification in Parliament, 1612, of Act of Assembly, 1610, omits subjection of bishops to the General Assembly, and makes other omissions, additions, and alterations in clauses, articles, and words of importance; that General Assemblies had been holden yearly or oftener from 1560 to 1603; and that in Assembly at Glasgow, 1610, the regulations as to commissioners and voters in Parliament were made on the basis of a yearly report to the General Assembly, according to the system ratified in the Act of Parliament, 1592. Then follows a reclamation against being "nicknamed" Puritans, and having threats made for not observing ceremonies like festival days, private baptism, private communion, and Episcopal confirmation—things unknown from the Reformation to 1567, when an Act of Parliament defined the Church's observances, the things above-named being contrary to the tenor of the Act of Perth Assembly, 1618, and contrary to the meaning of the voters, where it was professed that none should be pressed with obedience to that Act. The last two paragraphs of the "grievances" refer to the change of oath at admission of ministers; and to ministers being suspended,

silenced, and deprived for matters merely ecclesiastical, before judicatories not established either by Parliament or the Kirk.

The clerk register took great offence at this document, whereon Mr. Hog presented to the king at Dalkeith, before his entry into Edinburgh, a short special petition asking his favourable consideration of the above. But all was in vain, for the main document was suppressed.

Immediately subsequent to the Parliament of 1633, the lords and other members who had voted against the king's measures drew up a supplication to the king, affirming their complete loyalty and acknowledgment of his prerogative, notwithstanding their views on Church matters, and reasoning with him that these repeated changes in ceremony that were made obligatory were ruining the Church, and especially reclaiming against the royal favour to Arminianism, admission of Romanists to places of power, and introduction of church novations without consent of clergy lawfully assembled. Adverting to the pecuniary side of the question, they declared that they had even agreed to fresh taxation "without craving that it may not be bestowed upon diverse parties, whose wastes and wants your good subjects are not obliged to supply." "We are therefore confident that your Majesty . . . will be unwilling . . . to introduce upon the doctrine or discipline of this your mother Church anything not compatible with the honour thereof and your good people's conscience, other than hath been by Acts and public practice of this Church."[1]

In the face of this series of warnings the infatuated king chose to persevere in his wilful course of conforming Scotland in religion to England. The new Service Book was to be the instrument of this, but it was seen as the book was being prepared that a book of canons was needed to accompany the Liturgy, furnishing the Church with a new constitution or directory. These canons were at first announced as to be drawn from Acts of Assembly, which would have been the legitimate course, but in point of fact they had almost no connection with Acts of Assembly except in the way of contrariety. The title of the book was "Canons and Constitutions Ecclesiastical, gathered and put in form for the Government of the

[1] Stevenson, i. 59, 62, 98, 104, gives full copies of the documents above referred to.

Church of Scotland. Ratified and approved by Authority, and ordained to be observed by the Clergy and all others whom they concern. Published by Authority. Aberdeen, imprinted by Edward Raban, dwelling upon the Market Place, at the Arms of the City, 1636, with royal privilege." The book consists of nineteen chapters extending to forty-three pages.[1]

The titles of the chapters are:—

(1) Of the Church of Scotland. (2) Of presbyters and deacons: their nomination, ordination, function, and charge. (3) Of residence and preaching. (4) Of the conversation of presbyters. (5) Of translation. (6) Of the sacraments. (7) Of marriage. (8) Of synods. (9) Of meetings to Divine service. (10) Of schoolmasters. (11) Of curates and readers. (12) Of printers. (13) Of christenings, weddings, and burials, to be registered. (14) Of public fasts. (15) Of decency in apparel, enjoined to persons ecclesiastical. (16) Of things pertaining to the Church. (17) Of tithes and lands dedicated to churches. (18) Of censures ecclesiastical. (19) Of commissaries and their courts.

The canons at which offence was mainly taken were:—

1. That whosoever should affirm the king's majesty had not the same authority in causes ecclesiastical that the godly kings had among the Jews or the Christian emperors in the primitive Church, or impugn in any part his royal supremacy in causes ecclesiastical, was to be excommunicated.

2. That whosoever should affirm the worship contained in the Book of Common Prayer and administration of the sacraments, or that the government of the Church by archbishops and bishops, &c., contained anything repugnant to the Scriptures, or was corrupt, superstitious, or unlawful, was to be excommunicated.

3. That ordinations were restrained to four times of the year, the first weeks of March, June, September, and December.

4. That every presbyter shall cause Divine service to be done according to the Book of Scottish Common Prayer before all sermons, and that he shall officiate by the said book in all the offices, parts, and rubrics of it.

5. That no presbyter shall be surety for any person whatever, in civil contracts, under penalty of suspension.

6. That the remainder of the bread and wine prepared for the communion be given to the poorer of those who received that day, and to be eat and drank by them before they went out of the Church.

7. Presbyters to administer baptism without distinction of days, in case of sickness and danger, and the people to receive the sacrament of the Lord's Supper in a kneeling posture.

8. No presbyter or layman, jointly or severally, to make rules, orders, or constitutions in causes ecclesiastical; or to add to or take away from any rubrics, articles, or other things now established, without the authority of the king or his successors, under pain of excommunication.

[1] Both the original edition and a reprint at Edinburgh in 1720 are very rare, but a copy may be found in Laud's collected works in library of "Anglo-Catholic Theology," v. 583.

9. That national or general assemblies are to be called only by the king's authority.

10. That no presbyter or reader shall pray *extempore*, or use any other form in the public service than that prescribed, under pain of deprivation.

11. That no person should teach in public schools or private houses unless licensed by the archbishop or bishop under their hand and seal; and that none are thus to be licensed unless men of orthodox belief and conformity to the orders of the Church.

12. That nothing be printed unless first perused and allowed by the *visitors* appointed for that purpose, under penalty at discretion of the bishops.

13. That for administering the sacrament of baptism a font shall be prepared and fixed near the church porch, according to ancient usage; that a fine linen cloth should likewise be provided for this purpose, and all decently kept.

14. That a decent table for celebrating the holy communion be provided and set at the upper end of the chancel or church; that at the time of Divine service the table shall be covered with a handsome stuff carpet, and when the holy eucharist is administered, with a white linen cloth; and that basins, cups, or chalices, of some fine metal, shall be provided to furnish the communion table, and used only for that purpose.

15. That bishops and presbyters without issue shall leave their effects, or a great part of them, to pious uses; or having issue, shall bestow some legacies, as a mark of their affection, upon the Church.

16. That no presbyter shall discover anything told him in confession to any person whatsoever, excepting the crime is such that, by the laws of the realm, his own life may be in danger by concealing it.

17. That no person shall be admitted to holy orders nor suffered to preach, catechise, administer the sacraments, or perform any other ecclesiastical function without subscribing the canons.

These canons were ratified and confirmed by the king in a letter under the great seal, dated Greenwich, 23rd May, 1635, and were published previous to the publication, and even the completed composition, of the Service Book and the Ordinal,[1] to which they bound the clergy by severe penalties by anticipation. They were thus objectionable both in matter and manner—not drawn from Acts of Assembly as alleged, never submitted to any church court for sanction, never submitted to Parliament even, subversive of church courts fully authorized by both Church and Parliament, and subversive of modes of worship in unbroken use from 1560 to 1636. No other branch

[1] No copy of the Ordinal, printed before the end of 1636, and alluded to in the Canons, is known to exist. It was separately condemned by the Glasgow Assembly, 6th December, 1638, on the same day as the Service Book, Book of Canons, and High Commission, were similarly dealt with. It is there called "the Book of Consecration and Ordination," and is stigmatized as "introduced and practised without warrant of authority, either civil or ecclesiastical."

of the Christian Church ever had such a barefaced and cruel piece of Erastianism perpetrated on it as that a king, by mere exercise of royal prerogative, should manufacture a complete set of three church books for canons, Divine service, and ordination, and present them with the alternative—Take these, or lose office, goods, and life, as traitors! It was nothing short of madness so to deal with a nation and Church that is one of the freest and boldest in all history. Deeply, however, as the nation was exasperated by the Book of Canons, the people deliberately restrained themselves until the scheme of the despot was fully revealed, because the canons, being more clerical, were a class grievance, whereas the Service Book, when it would come into use, was more likely to arouse the whole community as a defiantly despotic interference with what was most sacred, and touched every Scottish man and woman to the quick.

The Service Book, in its earlier draft, was mainly the work of Bishop Wedderburn of Dunblane and Bishop Maxwell of Ross, with whom subordinately were associated Sydserf of Galloway, and Ballantyne, or Bellenden, of Aberdeen. Wedderburn was a special *protégé* of the English primate Laud. He was born at Dundee, but educated in England. After residing long with Isaac Casaubon, he taught divinity in St. Mary's College, St. Andrews, and was made a prebendary of Ely by Bishop Andrews, who was of the same extreme ritual school as Laud.

In April, 1636, the king ordered Archbishop Laud of Canterbury, with Bishop Juxon of London and Bishop Wren of Norwich, to consider the alterations proposed by the Scots bishops in modification of the English Prayer Book, which, by order, had been taken as the basis. On 18th October, 1636, the king sent the book so altered by Laud, Juxon, and Wren, to the Scots bishops, with a letter addressed to Archbishop Spottiswoode as to its publication and compulsory use. The same day the king wrote to the Scottish Privy Council on the subject, and on 20th December the council passed an Act as directed. Copies were printed in April, 1637. Thus the book, although called Scottish, was mainly the work of Laud and his English coadjutors, aided by Bishop Wedderburn as their agent in Scotland, and it can best be characterized by saying that it is substantially a revision of the English Book of Common Prayer, modified in

the direction now known as ritualistic, especially in the communion office.

The objections taken to the book in a general way were that it conflicted with national feeling, as being essentially English; that it conflicted also with religious feeling, as founding on royal edict without any ecclesiastical sanction; that it conflicted with doctrinal views firmly held by the great bulk of the Church since the Reformation as leaning to Romanism. Not the least influential element of opposition was that for some time past many of the nobles and landowners were roused against the king and the bishops by fears as to the revocation of teinds, and by the encroachment of the clergy into several offices of state, whose emoluments and honours, since 1560, had been associated with lay lords. Another line of objections lay in points of detail, that were opposed on the ground of novelty or superstition. Of this sort was the sign of the cross in baptism; use of the ring in the marriage ceremony; consecration of water at particular times by prayer, the water to be poured into the baptismal font; a prayer on giving the communion elements, which was regarded as countenancing transubstantiation; and a thanksgiving for departed saints. A petition of Alexander Henderson of Leuchars next year to the Privy Council lets us see the objections to the Service Book as carefully formulated by the coming moderator of the Assembly of 1638:—

First, because the book was warranted neither by the General Assembly nor by Act of Parliament; *secondly*, because the liberties of the true Church, and the form of worship and religion received at the Reformation, and universally practised since, were warranted by various Acts of Assembly and Acts of Parliament; *thirdly*, because the Church of Scotland was a free and independent Church, and its pastors were best able to provide what was for the good of the people; *fourthly*, because it was well known what disputes there had been respecting a few of the many ceremonies contained in that book, which, when examined, would be found to depart from the established form of worship, and to draw near to the antichristian Church of Rome; *fifthly*, because the people had always been taught a different doctrine since the Reformation, and would not agree to such changes, even if their pastors were willing to submit.

Easter of 1636, intended for the introduction of the new book, came and passed, but the book was not ready—or the bishops were not, for some said that the older and more cautious were for delay. At length Sunday, 23rd July, was fixed on,

and intimation was made on the Sunday preceding without causing any special excitement. Both sides made ready in their own way. Emphasis was to be given to the new book, particularly in St. Giles' and Greyfriars Churches in Edinburgh. In the former the bishop, David Lindsay, was to preach, Dean Hannah was to read prayers, while the archbishop and several other bishops, with members of Privy Council, judges of the Court of Session, and city magistrates, were to give *éclat* to the occasion by their presence in state. In the latter James Fairley, bishop-elect of Argyll, was to officiate. When the service began at nine o'clock in St. Giles', in the division known as the Old Kirk (the choir or High Church being under repair), the dean had no sooner begun than commotion and outcries ensued, especially among the women, drowning the voice of the reader. The bishop mounted the pulpit to remonstrate, but in vain, for noise and execration grew more violent, so that stools, sticks, and books were thrown at dean and bishop, the former having his surplice torn in an attempt to pull him out of the lectern. The archbishop got the lord provost and magistrates to clear the church of the rioters, and the service was then gone on with without a congregation. It fared little better in the Greyfriars, for the bishop had to cut short the service on reaching the end of the absolution. The central figure in this riot, that brought the tyranny to a standstill and gave vent to the gathering indignation of the oppressed, is Mrs. Janet Geddes, the herb-stall woman, who proved too much for dean, bishop, primate, and king. "Villain! daurst thou say the mass at my lug?" It is amusing to note how diverse are the estimates of Jenny and her stool.[1]

The form of the check by stool-throwing in church was violent and irreverent; but it indicated how deep and general was the disapproval of the king's ecclesiastical tyranny, that what began so vulgarly went on till it ended not only in a change of

[1] "An ignorant and fanatical woman, whose name has come down to us associated with no other act than that of offering violence to a minister of the Gospel when engaged in the performance of public worship."—*Bishop C. Wordsworth, in "Charge" of September*, 1886.

"A brave Scotchwoman, who struck the first blow in the great struggle for freedom of conscience, which, after a conflict of half a century, ended in the establishment of civil and religious liberty."—*Lord President Inglis on the Memorial Brass in St. Giles', April*, 1886.

Church, but a change of dynasty. It has been alleged that the riot was an organized one, carefully and secretly prepared, that the Amazons were bespoken for their part, and that some of the most active were zealous apprentices in female garb. Even though this were proven, it would matter little, for in ridding themselves of the unscrupulous arts and unconstitutional violence of kings like Charles, honest men are entitled to some of the freedoms associated with war.

The Privy Council met next day and issued a proclamation denouncing the rioters. The magistrates apologized for the occurrence, and apprehended some persons on suspicion. Next Saturday the archbishop and bishop announced that till the king's pleasure should be ascertained neither old prayer-book nor new should be read, but that there should be only a sermon preceded and followed by a prayer. On 4th August a letter from the king exhorted the council to search and punish the authors of the late tumult, and the council agreed to resume the liturgy on Sunday, 13th August; but no resumption took place, and strife ensued between bishops and nobles in the council as to who was to blame for the whole failure of the unfortunate Service Book. Probably the true reason of dropping the book was the opening of the eyes of the council to the extent to which the nation was against the unconstitutional violence of the king and bishops, for resistance was even bolder elsewhere than in Edinburgh itself. At Glasgow, on the last Wednesday of August, William Annand, minister of Ayr, preached a synod sermon in defence of the canons and liturgy at the request of Archbishop Lindsay. But next evening the women of Glasgow waylaid the preacher on his way to the archbishop's, tore his clothing, and used him very roughly. They were the more determined in the evening, because for some reviling words at the close of the meeting during the day the magistrates had apprehended two of the offending women and put them in prison. Even the magistrates thought it prudent, in view of the feminine fury, to get Mr. Annand with a guard out of the town; but when he had mounted his horse the animal stumbled, and horse and rider fell together into what is known as a "midden hole" that bordered the street—a bath which raised a mighty cheer from the too orthodox crowd.

On 13th July a prosecution for disobedience as to the liturgy was started against Henderson of Leuchars and three ministers in the Presbyteries of Irvine, Ayr, and Glasgow—viz. William Castlelaw, Stewarton; Thomas Bonar, Maybole; and Robert Wilkie, Glasgow. But bills of suspension were presented to the Privy Council on 20th August, on the ground that the recent innovations were illegal. The council on 25th August found, that while *purchase* of the book was imperative, its *observance* was not enjoined. This slip caused delay, during which the whole country was roused.

The council had led the opposers of the Service Book to expect by the 20th of September, the date fixed for their next meeting, a full answer from the king to their demands, and meanwhile the supplicants were not idle. Lord Balmerino and Henderson guided their counsels, and they sent deputies about the country to organize their friends—viz. Rollock to the South, Cant to the North, Ramsay to the Mearns, and Murray to Perth and Stirling. Fife, Lothian, and Ayrshire were already lively enough. Sixty-eight supplications or petitions were sent in to the council on 20th September, and the Earls Sutherland and Wemyss had presented a common supplication in name of nobility, barons, ministers, and burghs, craving the matter to be again referred to the king before the book was enforced. This paper was signed, among others, by Lords Yester, Cranston, Loudon, Montgomery, Dalzell, Fleeming, Dalkeith, Balmerino, Burleigh, Hume, Cassilis, Lothian, Boyd, Angus, Rothes, Wemyss, Sutherland, Dalhousie, Lindsay, and Sinclair—names which prove alike the weight and width of the opposition.[1] The council agreed not to answer the petitions until they heard from the king, and the Duke of Lennox was sent up to London to lay the whole matter, with the latest documents, before him. The council saw the necessity of making concessions, but the difficulty was with the king himself. Hope, the king's advocate, Traquair, the treasurer, and Earl Morton were all blamed by the bishops at this stage for being too favourable to the supplicants and neglectful of the king's interest; but their only fault was that they saw the real merit and lawfulness of the petitioners' case

[1] Stevenson, ii. 202.

as against the king's arbitrary interference. On the 11th September the people of Edinburgh invaded the City Chambers, and forced the magistrates to join them in a supplication against the book. A meeting of the Privy Council was intimated by the chancellor for 18th October, and messengers were at once sent to get representatives of the supplicants gathered from all parts of the country. Commissioners from above 200 parishes gave in fresh supplications to the council, and the petitioners thus brought together in great numbers began the more to feel their strength and to consult together as to their common interest. Again the court answer to the council was unyielding and harsh. Feeling themselves helpless, and overawed by the concourse in Edinburgh, they issued a proclamation for all strangers to depart home within twenty-four hours under pain of rebellion; and in rebuke of the people's invasion of the magistrates' meeting of 11th September, another proclamation followed removing the secret council and the Court of Session first to Linlithgow and then to Dundee. This move only made matters worse, and led the supplicants to lay the blame more directly on the bishops, in whose interests all these things were going on, and who were a predominating power in the Privy Council. Accordingly, on 15th November, a formal complaint to the king against the bishops was drawn up by the Earl of Loudon and Mr. David Dickson, charging them with being authors of the liturgy and canons and all the troubles that had followed upon them. This complaint[1] was at first subscribed by twenty-two nobles, several hundreds of gentlemen, some hundreds of ministers, and most of the burghs, and a little later by fourteen additional noblemen and corresponding numbers of others. The only place of any importance that refused to join in the movement against tyranny was Aberdeen. At this point the zeal of the people of Edinburgh was unduly inflamed, as is seen in a second invasion, on 18th October, of the City Chambers, and in their mobbing of Bishop Sydserf of Galloway, on which occasion, so complete was the ascendency of the crowd, that the Earls of Traquair and Wigtown, who went to help the besieged and imperilled bishop, were themselves so helpless and assaulted that they were compelled to seek pro-

[1] Stevenson, ii. 218–222.

tection at the hands of the lords who had influence with the discontented. Against poor Sydserf the rabble were shouting, "Papist loon! Jesuit loon! betrayer of religion!" and were tearing open his clothes to discover a golden crucifix which he was said to wear under his vest. The corresponding cry against the two court earls and the magistrates was: "God defend all those who defend God's cause! God confound the Service Book and all its maintainers!" Such was the violence against Traquair, the lord treasurer, that he was thrown down on the street, and his hat, cloak, and white staff of office were taken from him; yet Traquair was no mere slave of the king, but a comparatively fair and reasonable man, who had much sympathy with the movement against the Prayer Book, and who wished peace by some honest compromise, such as ought to have been attainable, because it was not a question of Prayer Book or no Prayer Book, but of the manner and degree of revision of a book already recognized. Nor was it a question of bishop or no bishop, but of the degree of authority to be vested in superintendents already recognized by law of Church and State, partly for work within the Church and partly for representing the Church in Parliament. But unfortunately the hour of compromise was past, because the king was madly self-willed, and the people had so often been taken in or forced down that they ceased to believe the king's word and feared new wiles in fresh proposals. As an indication of the supplicants' consciousness of where their strength lay, but an indication in a much better way than in mobbing and maltreating bishops and courtiers, or in coercing magistrates by swarming into their chambers like the legendary mice that inundated the tyrant's tower in the Rhine, we may interpret the curious flauntingly democratic petition sent in to the chancellor in name of the "men, women, children, and servants of Edinburgh."

The supplicants arranged for a great muster on 15th November. At this date one of their foremost friends was the Earl of Montrose, just returned from foreign travel, and who, six years afterwards, was to change sides and prove the king's greatest champion. The gathering on and after 15th November was the immediate cause of a new development in the contest, that proved decisive towards the final victory of the popular party;

for when the Privy Council met at the same time a friendly arrangement was entered into, whereby the petitioners agreed that as the redress of their grievances was likely to take some time, they would, to avoid offence by their great number present in town and to save trouble to themselves, choose a few of the nobles, two gentlemen of each shire, one minister of each presbytery, and one burgess for each burgh, to act as commissioners for the whole, and to wait for his Majesty's answer to their supplications (referring to the "Petition of the Noblemen, Gentlemen, Ministers, and Burgesses, against the Service Book and Book of Canons" on 20th September). Hence arose the famous "Tables" or "Four Tables" of nobility, gentry, clergy, and burghers, wherein all classes combined to vindicate their religious liberties.

From the date of its first formation this Convention of the Tables, which had a real but, in a sense, unintentional sanction on the part of the Privy Council, became the virtual Parliament of Scotland, and the king's government went on from panic to panic and blunder to blunder, until it was by and by pushed out of existence in a manner to be bitterly regretted by every true patriot who regards a limited monarchy as the best form of civil government, and who regards the Church as the natural and best ally of every well-regulated State. Time after time, but all in vain, did good men with clear knowledge of Scottish affairs and Scottish feeling go to London with messages from the Privy Council, beseeching the king to listen to their statements, advice, and warning—the Duke of Lennox in August, 1637, the Earl of Roxburgh in December, the Earl of Traquair in January, 1638. Traquair returned with pitiably unwise and inadequate instructions. The king had determined before making any further concessions to proclaim his resolution to pardon the acts of violence which had been perpetrated, to vindicate the innovations, and to prohibit all tumultuous assemblies; promising, however, that he would listen to such supplications from his people as were conveyed in language which it was proper for subjects to use to their sovereign. Traquair reserved the communication of these things until he should be able formally and solemnly to do so in Stirling, to which the Court of Session had been trans-

ferred from the capital—thinking that by launching them all at once the supplicants would be daunted and think twice before committing themselves to absolute rebellion. The earl's plan and date somehow leaked out, and a remarkably bold counter-policy was adopted of an open protest at the same time and place as the royal proclamation. Friends in the Privy Council suggested the danger that after such a course the king would probably refuse to receive any new supplications from their party; whereupon they made answer that they would do their duty and commit the event to God Almighty, who was able to protect his own cause and their just proceedings. Knowing the likelihood or certainty of a protestation, Traquair did his best to save the dignity of the king and council by trying, through great expedition, to have his proclamation finished before his rivals could be on the ground to strike their parrying blow. Even this failed, and the earl was forced to think, if not to say, as Ahab to Elijah, "Hast thou found me, O mine enemy?" when Lords Lindsay and Hume, accompanied by a notary public, were on the scene at Stirling, on 20th February, to take up *their* parable as soon as Traquair and Roxburgh had finished theirs.

The substance of the protestation ran:—

1. That the seeds of superstition and idolatry are contained in these books.

2. Though there were nothing such in them, yet are they full of novelties which cannot be admitted unless with the violation of their liberty, laws, and received religion, especially when they are obtruded against their will, without any previous judgment of the national synod, which has always had the supreme power of judging in ecclesiastical matters of that kind.

3. That it is unjust to deny liberty to accuse the bishops, whom they are able to prove guilty of many crimes.

4. They protest against the use of the High Commission, in regard it is a court supported by no foundation in justice, constituted by no municipal law, obtruded upon the Scots from the practice of the English, contrary to the fundamental laws of the kingdom.

5. That they reject the bishops as unjust judges, and cannot admit their judgment till their innocence shall be made appear in a competent court.

6. That all their meetings and their petitions to the council are designed for no other end, but to defend the purity of divine worship hitherto received against the obtrusion of innovations, and the liberty of the Church against the tyranny of the bishops; and that they have determined, for prosecuting those sacred purposes, to attend sober meetings of

that kind, nor can they with a good conscience desist from them, unless they would be esteemed betrayers of the glory of God, the honour of the king, and the liberty both of church and state.[1]

This protest was affixed to the cross beside the proclamation, and it was repeated on successive days at Linlithgow and Edinburgh. In the case of Edinburgh the protestation used was modified and read by Archibald Johnston of Warriston, surrounded by a company of sympathisers, consisting of sixteen nobles and many barons, gentlemen, clergy, and burgesses, while the royal proclamation which preceded had been received with jeers and laughter, and the officers who made it were violently compelled to remain to hear the counterblast.[2]

These protestations were immediately followed by the taking of the National Covenant, which was so important a step that it led to a new name, "Covenanters," being henceforth applied to those who lately were called Supplicants or Petitioners; and for fifty years to come the whole of the Scottish Church turns directly on the views of these resolute men, whom we have to follow through good and bad fortune. The general aim of the Covenant was to maintain and utilize the enthusiasm which had been aroused against the Service Book and the arbitrary measures associated with it. More particularly, as declared in the document itself, was its aim to bind those who opposed the Service Book into one united body for mutual defence against the dangers to which their opposition to the Service Book exposed them. The Covenant was composed by Henderson, minister of Leuchars, and by Johnston of Warriston as legal adviser, and it was revised by Lords Balmerino, Rothes, and Loudon. It consisted of three parts—*first*, a verbatim and complete copy of the King's Covenant of 1580 as drawn up by John Craig and signed by King James and his household, with a view to unite the kingdom as a Reformed state in self-defence against the tenets and designs of Romanists; *second*, a recital, with proper references, of a long series of Acts of the Scottish Parliament justifying and allowing the several things sworn to in the Covenant of 1580, this being specially the work of Johnston of Warriston, and apparently designed to satisfy the

[1] Stevenson, ii. 276.
[2] Grub, ii. 409; Warriston's form of protest is given by Cook, ii. 405.

nation that though now the king did not head the Covenant, yet those who renewed it had authority of a long series of laws on their side. Then *thirdly,* as Henderson's contribution, came a new bond suited to the circumstances of 1638, and substituted for a general bond, which with consent of king and church was appended in 1590 to the original document of 1580. From this it will be seen at once that it is the new bond contained in the third part that calls for special notice. And although the whole Covenant is of very easy access, being printed along with the Westminster Standards, it will be advantageous to quote the decisive paragraphs :—

Finally, being convinced in our minds and confessing with our mouths that the present and succeeding generations in this land are bound to keep the foresaid national oath and subscription inviolable,

We noblemen, barons, gentlemen, burgesses, ministers, and commons under-subscribing, considering divers times before, and especially at this time, the danger of the true reformed religion, of the king's honour and of the public peace of the kingdom, by the manifold innovations and evils, generally contained and particularly mentioned in our late supplications, complaints, and protestations; do hereby profess, and before God, His angels, and the world, solemnly declare, that with our whole heart we agree and resolve all the days of our life constantly to adhere to and to defend the foresaid true religion, and (forbearing the practice of all innovations already introduced in the matters of the worship of God, or approbation of the corruptions of the public government of the kirk, or civil places and power of kirkmen, till they be tried and allowed in free Assemblies, and in Parliament) to labour, by all means lawful, to recover the purity and liberty of the gospel, as it was established and professed before the foresaid novations. And because after due examination, we plainly perceive and undoubtedly believe, that the innovations and evils contained in our supplications, &c., have no warrant of the Word of God, are contrary to the articles of the foresaid Confession, to the intention and meaning of the blessed reformers of religion in this land, to the above written Acts of Parliament, . . . we also declare, that the foresaid Confessions are to be interpreted, and ought to be understood of the foresaid novations and evils, no less than if every one of them had been expressed in the foresaid Confessions; and that we are obliged to detest and abhor them, amongst other particular heads of Papistry abjured therein. And therefore, from the knowledge and conscience of our duty to God, to our king, and country, . . . we promise and swear by the great name of the Lord our God to continue in the profession and obedience of the foresaid religion; and that we shall defend the same, and resist all these contrary errors and corruptions. . . .

And in like manner, with the same heart, we declare before God and men, that we have no intention nor desire to attempt anything that may turn to the dishonour of God or to the diminution of the king's greatness

and authority; but on the contrary we promise and swear, that we shall to the uttermost of our power, with our means and lives, stand to the defence of our dread sovereign the king's Majesty, his person and authority, in the defence and preservation of the foresaid true religion, liberties, and laws of the kingdom; as also to the mutual defence and assistance every one of us of another, in the same cause of maintaining the true religion and his Majesty's authority, with our best counsel, our bodies, means, and whole power, against all sorts of persons whatsoever. . . . In witness whereof we have subscribed with our hands all the premises.

Both before and after a fast on 1st March, 1638, this Covenant was sworn with uplifted hands, and subscribed in Greyfriars' Church with great enthusiasm, after earnest prayer by Henderson and eloquent exhortation by Lord Loudon. Copies were dispersed over the country, and within two months there were Covenanters in vast numbers all over Scotland with few exceptions; among these the chief were Aberdeen, St. Andrews, Crail, and some remote places where such movements had no chance. When Archbishop Spottiswoode came to Edinburgh, and heard of the renewal of the Covenant, he exclaimed, "Now is all our labour during the last thirty years destroyed at once;" and in this belief he and all the bishops save four fled to England. The original subscribers of the Covenant among the *nobility* were—Rothes, Montrose, Cassilis, Sutherland, Eglinton, Wemyss, Home, Lindsay, Lothian, Yester, Burleigh, Loudon, Melvil, Johnston, Forester, Cranston, Boyd, Sinclair, Balmerino, Coupar. Among the *barons* subscribing were—Elcho, J. Sutherland, J. Sinclair, Erskine of Scotscraig, Hume of Wedderburn, Hume of Ayton, Campbell of Larbert, Lamington, Bishopton, Keir, Blair, Fulwood, Rowallan, Riddell, Cunningham, Garthland, Ricarton, Kilmahew, Murray, Lag, Craigdarroch, Cunninghamhead, Moncrieff, Kelburn, Greenock, Buntein, Hay, Campbell, Graham of Killearn, Rollo of Duncrub, Murray of Auchadoun, and Inglis of Frathrum. Among the original subscribing *ministers* were—Murray at Methven, Scrimgeour at Kinghorn, Douglas at Kirkcaldy, Gillespie at Wemyss, Cunningham at Portincraig (Broughty), Dickson at Irvine, Henderson at Leuchars, Arthur at Westkirk, Porteous at Cessford, Skinner at Kinghorn, Bennet at Auchtermuchty, Ramsay at Edinburgh, and Rollock at Edinburgh.[1] The original parchment still exists in the Advo-

[1] Stevenson, ii. 292.

cates' Library, and is written all over, the signatures overflowing to the margins, and, when room failed, ending in mere initials for the latest comers.

Notwithstanding Lord Advocate Hope's opinion that this Covenant was legal and compatible with loyalty, it may well be argued that it was not, and it may be admitted that most of the objections taken to it on this score by Episcopalians and others are valid. The Covenant of 1580 was against Popery in time of alarm, yet it is here used against Prelacy and the royal prerogative, which are quite different things. The Covenant of 1580 was headed by the king, and was for the king; but this was not only apart from him, but directly to restrain and thwart him. This Covenant was a league of mutual self-defence by certain citizens against all opposers, and already it was notorious that the king himself was the chief opposer. The verbal loyalty expressed toward the king, if it had any real meaning, would make the Covenant self-contradictory; but that the whole weight is in the bond for mutual defence, and that the defence is against the king, is beyond question. These things being so, the bond is technically an illegal one, and inconsistent with ordinary loyalty. But though illegal, it may soundly be contended that the bond was justifiable, and this is the line taken by judicious churchmen. "The vindication of the Covenant must be rested, not upon far-fetched attempts to reconcile it with loyalty, but upon this great principle that, when the ends for which all government should be instituted are defeated, the oppressed have a clear right to disregard customary forms, and to assert the privileges, without which they would be condemned to the degradation and wretchedness of despotism."[1] "There are times when law must be set aside—when man resumes his natural rights. The king had violated the laws of the land; why should not the people? The king had attempted, in defiance of the constitution, to force an obnoxious liturgy upon the nation; why should not the nation band itself together and defy him to do it? Is the monarch made for the nation, or the nation for the monarch? Is the will of the one or the will of the many to be supreme? Should the people, for fear of violating some statute, and giving pain to some men in high places, sit still and allow

[1] Cook, ii. 415.

their religion and liberties to be trampled on? Had the Covenant not been subscribed, it is certain the liturgy would have been introduced, the canons enforced, and the heel of arbitrary power placed on the neck of our country. This is its justification."[1]

The outbreak in St. Giles' on 23rd July, 1637, and the signing of the Covenant on 28th February, 1638, prepared the way for the General Assembly held in Glasgow Cathedral 21st November, 1638. But before dealing with the Assembly it is needful to trace politically what immediately preceded.

A meeting of the Privy Council took place at Stirling on 1st March relative to this new movement touching the Covenant. The council was divided, some members being at heart friendly to the Covenanters; hence no military force was raised to quell them, and on the contrary the prevailing idea was concession. A despatch was sent to London by Sir John Hamilton, also a private letter of Traquair and Roxburgh, emphasizing the troubled state of the country as a "combustion." The Covenanters, who now embraced the great majority of the nobility, also wrote their views to their friends at court. The king made even now but few concessions, and gave his instructions, such as they were, to the Marquis of Hamilton, whom he trusted greatly and safely. The chief points of instruction were that the Canons and Service Book were not to be pressed except in a legal way; the High Commission was to be regulated so as to be no longer a grievance; and in exchange for these boons the Covenant was to be disclaimed. But these instructions were not made public. The marquis arrived in Scotland on the 3rd of June, when the Covenanters were preparing for civil war. He reached Dalkeith like a private man, his own vassals paying no heed to his call, because deeming it inconsistent with the bond lately signed. The gates of Edinburgh and the approaches to the castle were guarded by armed men in the Covenanting interest. The same was done at Stirling. On 4th July proclamation was made at Edinburgh of the king's intentions regarding Canons, Liturgy, and High Commission; but the part of the instructions as to withdrawing the Covenant was prudently omitted—and yet a protest was taken by the Tables. The council itself actually drew back the consent it had given to the making of this proclamation, and

[1] Cunningham, ii. 85.

threatened to sign the Covenant if the marquis did not agree to acknowledge their withdrawal, whereon the marquis in disgust met their demand by tearing up the certified proclamation, which had not yet been copied into the record of the council's proceedings. The sorely puzzled marquis started on 6th July for London for fresh instructions. He returned on 8th August, the substance of his new message being that the king agrees to the signing of the Confession of 1567 (apparently as a substitute for the Covenant being withdrawn), and also to the calling of a General Assembly and a meeting of Parliament.

As to the General Assembly, the king insisted that the representatives should be elected by the ministers only. The Tables replied, it must be the old way, as in 1597, of ministers and elders. When the clergy were inclined to agree to the king's proposal, the Tables of nobles, barons, and burgesses put down their foot and said No—elders must be electors also. At this stage the marquis again started for London on 25th August, after a consultation with the Earls of Traquair, Roxburgh, and Southesk. On 17th September he was back at Holyrood. The king had now agreed to suggestions made by the marquis—to cancel the Liturgy and Canons, to abolish the High Commission, suspend the Articles of Perth till approved by Assembly and Parliament, subscribe the King's Covenant of 1580, and pardon the past to all subjects who agree to act dutifully in future.

It was a shame to the Covenanters that these terms were not accepted. Sir Thomas Hope, the lord advocate, who had zealously signed the Covenant, did agree to them, but very unfortunately he was overruled. At first the Covenanters wished delay of the proclamation for signing the Negative Confession of 1580; but on 22nd September, when the proclamation was made, they also made a protestation, showing unreasonableness, and in fact that they had become irreconcilables. In looking forward to the General Assembly, fixed by the royal proclamation for 21st November at Glasgow, the Tables sent secret instructions to presbyteries as to electing representatives—an act which was as bad an interference with a free and fair Assembly as any act of the king ever was. Then, to prevent the bishops voting in the Assembly, they incited the Presbytery of Edinburgh to the trickery of framing charges against them, which

would cause them to be at the bar of the Assembly instead of sitting as members. The Presbytery of Edinburgh had nothing to do with any of the bishops except the one in the newly erected see of Edinburgh, and the charges, moreover, were monstrous and artificial, being these:—Violation of the cautions of Assembly 1600; holding Arminian and popish tenets; exercising unwarrantable authority; and practising many gross vices inconsistent with common church membership. No wonder the persecuted bishops declined the jurisdiction of the Assembly. The marquis foresaw the likelihood or necessity of withdrawing the royal countenance from the Assembly at an early stage, while the Covenanters were already resolved to go on at all hazards.

No Assembly fully recognized by the Church had met for thirty years. The great, and too free, Assembly at Glasgow consisted of 140 ministers, 17 nobles, 9 knights, 25 landed proprietors, and 47 burgesses.[1] The Marquis of Hamilton was Lord High Commissioner, and Alexander Henderson, minister of Leuchars, Moderator. Johnston of Warriston was appointed clerk. The Assembly having sat from 21st to 28th, transacting preliminary matters, chiefly relative to the constitution of the court, came at length to the decisive question of the trial of the bishops. When the Commissioner failed to prevent this, on 29th November he dissolved the Assembly in the king's name, and withdrew. Undaunted, the members (with the exception of two elders and three ministers) continued their business. The losses of the Assembly by the withdrawal of the Commissioner and five members were compensated by fresh accessions—viz. Argyll, Wigtown, Kinghorn, Galloway, Mar, Napier, Almond, and Blackhall.[2] The Acts of this Assembly number no fewer than seventy-two.[3] The chief are these:—

Dec. 4. Annuls six late Assemblies—viz. Linlithgow, 1606; Linlithgow, 1608; Glasgow, 1610; Aberdeen, 1616; St. Andrews, 1617; Perth, 1618, with reasons of nullity for each.

Dec. 6. Condemns the Service Book, Book of Canons, Book of Ordinations, and High Commission.

Dec. 8. Declares Episcopacy to have been abjured by the Confession of Faith, 1580, and now removed.[4]

[1] The Roll is given by Stevenson, ii. 474; also by Peterkin, 109. [2] Stevenson, ii. 576.
[3] See list in Peterkin, "Records of the Kirk," 46.
[4] Peterkin, "Records," 28. The only exception to the unanimity of this vote was the remarkable one of Robert Baillie, who voted only remove without abjure. See Stevenson, ii. 625.

Dec. 10. Declares the Five Articles of Perth to have been abjured and removed.[1]

Dec. 13. Eight bishops deposed and excommunicated, and other six deposed after sermon by the Moderator, the trials having taken place from 7th to 12th Dec. The excommunicated were Spottiswoode, St. Andrews; Patrick Lindsay, Glasgow; David Lindsay, Edinburgh; Sydserf, Galloway; Maxwell, Ross; Whiteford, Brechin; Bellenden, Aberdeen; Wedderburn, Dunblane. The six deposed were—Guthrie, Moray; Alexander Lindsay, Dunkeld: Abernethy, Caithness; Graham, Orkney; Fairlie, Argyll; Campbell, the Isles.

Dec. 18. The order of the Provincial Assemblies, according to the Presbyteries therein contained.[2]

Dec. 19. Act against civil places and power of kirkmen, debarring ministers from the Justiciary, lordships of Session, and membership of Parliament; also appoints commissions for trying clerical delinquents, to sit at specified dates at Edinburgh, Jedburgh, Irvine, Kirkcudbright, Dundee, Chanonry, and Forres.

The sittings of this sweeping and revolutionary Assembly ended on 20th Dec. According to one report[3] the Moderator's last words were, "We have now cast down the walls of Jericho; let him that rebuildeth them beware of the curse of Hiel the Bethelite." But it is clear from the silence of other annalists, and from the way they are given in the record of Stevenson, that these words formed no part of the Moderator's closing address,[4] but were some sort of *aside* when the business had been ended.

Such was the work familiarly known in Scotland as the Second Reformation.

If there be some things to condemn in the Assembly of 1638, there is also much to admire. Its courage was wonderful; the revolution it effected was complete. Its proceedings were undoubtedly violent, but so are all revolutions. A storm was required to purify the atmosphere. The labour of thirty years was to be undone almost in a day. It is certain in repudiating prelates and prelacy it only fulfilled the wish of the people; for thirty long years had not weaned them from their first love to Presbytery, nor reconciled them to Episcopacy. It has sometimes been objected to it, that it went beyond its own province, set Acts of Parliament at defiance, and abolished a hierarchy which was established by law. This is quite true; but after all, it is only such a legal objection as a special pleader might take. The Assembly of 1638 embraced the Parliament; it was the convened representatives of all the Estates; its voice was the voice of the people. If the nation wished the change, it did not greatly matter whether it was effected by its representatives met in Parliament or met in Assembly.

[1] Peterkin, 32. [2] List given in Peterkin, 37. [3] Stevenson, ii. 676.
[4] Peterkin, 189; Stevenson, ii. 665–676.

Great movements seldom square themselves with law. It is worthy of remark, however, that the first Reformation in the Scotch Church was effected by the Parliament, the second by the General Assembly. Fault was found with both.—*Cunningham*, ii. 107.

On withdrawing from the Assembly, the Marquis of Hamilton made a proclamation stating his reasons for dissolving the meeting, prohibiting further meetings under pain of treason, and ordering the members to depart from Glasgow within twenty-four hours—all of which went for nothing. His anxieties and labours brought on an illness, but as soon as he had partially recovered, he started afresh for London, personally to report to the king. In fairness the High Commissioner is entitled to great praise alike for the ability and sincerity of his endeavours to bring about better terms between the king and the Scottish Church; and it is greatly to be regretted that the Covenanters at this critical juncture had not abstained from several unjust and offensive proceedings when the king and Commissioner had granted so many concessions. The errors of the Tables consisted in dictation to Presbyteries as to election of representatives—coming to the Assembly armed as for war—refusing a vote to the royal assessors—prejudging the case of the bishops by the artifice of charges in the Presbytery of Edinburgh, and depriving them of seat and vote.

The Scottish Primate died within a year—a man of good literature, life, and manners, diligent in business affairs, but subservient to royalty for his own ambition, and somewhat blind to the true feelings of his countrymen. It is melancholy to read the list of charges on which the Primate was deposed and excommunicated, every one of which bears on the face of it proof of prejudice and determination to be rid of a Church dignitary. His will, given in the Life prefixed to the edition of his History in 1847, presents a very different view of the man. The society that bears the archbishop's name has done him due honour in its publications—just as the rival society that bears the name of Wodrow has done to the authors and writings on the other side. Between the two sets of these rival volumes on every library shelf should be the motto, MEDIO *tutissimus ibis.*

CHAPTER XVII.

FROM THE GLASGOW ASSEMBLY, 1638, TO THE RESTORATION, 1660.

A Covenanting army raised—The "pacification" of Berwick—Assembly of 1639—Intolerance of the Covenanters—The Scots army cross the Tweed—Raising of the royal standard at Nottingham—Solemn League and Covenant subscribed by the English Parliament—The Shorter Catechism—Westminster Assembly—Battles of the Civil War—Barbarities of the Scots Estates—Surrender of the king by the Scots army—Battle of Preston—Execution of the king—Charles II. proclaimed by the Scots—Battle of Dunbar—The "crowning mercy" of Worcester—Death of Cromwell and entry of Charles into London—Ecclesiastical degradation of Scotland during the Commonwealth—First schism in the Church of Scotland—General Assemblies suppressed—Resolutioners and Remonstrants—Chief Church leaders of this period.

THE triumph achieved at Glasgow in December, 1638, was too one-sided to prove lasting. The attitude of the Lords of the Covenant so closely portended civil war, that Alexander Leslie (afterwards Earl of Leven), who had been field-marshal with Gustavus Adolphus, wrought with Lord Rothes to prepare a Covenanting army. The king on his side saw the need of preparation, and had appointed the Marquis of Huntly his lieutenant for Scotland, and gave the Marquis of Hamilton command of a fleet to co-operate in the Firth of Forth with the royal army. Huntly was made prisoner by Argyll, and Hamilton was too slow and cautious. As early as the middle of February the king appointed his army to meet at York by the end of March. By the end of May, 1639, the Scots army (with Baillie as chaplain) was planted on Duns Law, while the king and his army were just across the Tweed. A pacification, however, took place at Berwick, on the basis of a free Assembly at Edinburgh, and a Parliament to follow, each side to abandon their armaments. At first the king refused to ratify the proceedings of the Glasgow Assembly, while the Scots Commissioners refused to annul them; then they ended in the above compromise.

According to agreement the Assembly met on the 12th of August, and on the 17th enacted "that the Service Book, Books of Canons and Ordination, and the High Commission be still rejected; that the Articles of Perth be no more practised; that Episcopal government, and the civil powers and places of kirkmen, be holden still as unlawful in this Kirk; that the pre-

tended Assemblies at Linlithgow in 1606 and 1608, at Glasgow in 1610, at Aberdeen in 1616, at Perth in 1618, be hereafter accounted as null and of none effect; and that for preservation of religion and preventing all such evils in time coming, General Assemblies, rightly constitute, as the proper and competent judge of all matters ecclesiastical, hereafter be kept yearly and oftener *pro re nata*, as occasion and necessity shall require; the necessity of these occasional Assemblies being first remonstrate to his Majesty by humble supplication; as also that kirk sessions, presbyteries, and synodical assemblies be constitute and observed according to the order of the Kirk."

At this stage the Covenant began to be made (instead of a voluntary bond for self-defence) an instrument of intolerance. The Assembly rose on 30th August, and next day Parliament sat, was prorogued 24th October, and again on 14th November, to 2nd June, 1640. This delay was injurious to the king's interests. The Covenant became an instrument of oppression and persecution after it was signed by Traquair on 6th September, 1639, in Parliament. Having thus the sanction both of Council and of the Assembly, it was forced on men whether they approved it or not; and failing to sign they were ejected from office. At an Assembly held 28th July, 1639, at Aberdeen, whereat no High Commissioner appeared from the king, it was enacted "that no preacher nor schoolmaster be allowed to reside within a burgh, university, or college, who refused to sign the Covenant." Now "the Aberdeen doctors," who had lately been a thorn in the side of the Presbyterians by their learned and legal opposition, had a hot time of it. Dr. James Sibbald of New Aberdeen, Principal Dr. Alexander Leslie of Old Aberdeen, Dr. John Forbes of Corse, professor of divinity, and old Dr. Scroggie were all deprived. Dr. Barron had just died, and escaped vengeance, but his widow was summoned before the Covenanting inquisitors, and his manuscripts were overhauled to prevent posthumous opposition. At the same Assembly the question of the Brownists came keenly forward. This sect of refugees from Ireland forsook public worship, and had their meetings in families, and often at night, their views being of a peculiarly ranting and self-righteous sort.[1]

[1] Stevenson, iii. 894.

It was just before the Assembly of Aberdeen, and after the pacification of Berwick, that the Earl of Montrose changed sides at a conference with the king, where he was one of three representatives of the nobility.

When on 2nd June Parliament met, without the king's Commissioner, it passed important Acts, ratifying the proceedings of the General Assembly of 1639, and named a committee to transact business. On 21st August the Scots army crossed the Tweed, and on the 30th entered Newcastle. Thus pressed from Scotland (not to speak of other pressure from England), the king agreed to hold a Parliament at Westminster, 3rd November (the Long Parliament). On 17th August, 1641, a Parliament met at Edinburgh, at which Charles was present, where were confirmed the Acts of Parliament of June, 1640, overthrowing Episcopacy, establishing Presbytery, and also approving the desire of the Scots for uniformity of religion and church government with England. Meantime the king's difficulties in England increased, so that on 22nd August, 1642, the royal standard was set up at Nottingham, in civil war. An Assembly at St. Andrews, 20th July, 1641, continued the diseased craving for uniformity, as shown in an Act "for drawing up a Catechism, Confession of Faith, Directory of Public Worship, and form of Kirk Government," evidently the precursor of the Solemn League and Covenant, and of the work of the Westminster divines, both of which unfortunately were a copy, *reversed*, of the plan of James VI. in 1606, and of Charles in 1633, which had been so fruitful of misery from the opposite side.

At the Assembly of 1643 on 2nd August, the Solemn League and Covenant was agreed to, after a speech by Alexander Henderson. On 22nd September it was subscribed in London by the members of both Houses of Parliament, the Assembly of Divines, and the Scots Commissioners. Then it was circulated over the English counties, as well as over all synods and presbyteries in Scotland.

The Solemn League and Covenant was every way inferior to the National Covenant, being more narrow and less spontaneous, and especially objectionable in being forced on England in order to spread Presbyterianism, where it was never generally

desired. The subscribers pledged themselves by oath that they would endeavour the preservation of the Reformed religion in the Church of Scotland, in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government; as also the reformation of religion in the kingdoms of England and Ireland, in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government, according to the Word of God and the example of the best Reformed churches; that, in like manner, they should, without respect of persons, endeavour the extirpation of Popery, Prelacy (by which they declared themselves to mean church government by archbishops, bishops, and all other ecclesiastical officers depending on that hierarchy), superstition, heresy, schism, and profaneness; that they should, with the same sincerity, endeavour with their estates and lives, mutually to preserve the rights and privileges of the Parliaments, and the liberties of the kingdom, and to preserve and defend the king's person and authority, in the preservation and defence of the true religion and the liberties of the kingdom. It is shocking to see men thus taking oath to defend the king's person and authority, when they had at the very moment an army in the field for the contrary purpose; and not less painful to see those whose late sore grievance had been to have the religion of England thrust on themselves, now when circumstances were changed, trying to thrust the religion of Scotland both on England and Ireland. One is tempted to exclaim that these Covenants on the whole were a delusion and snare, although the first of them had a temporary success five years before in welding the nation together to resist royal tyranny.

This same period is remarkable as giving to Scotland those books that have ever since served as our standards of doctrine and government—the Confession of Faith, the Larger and Shorter Catechisms, and the Directory of Public Worship. By far the most influential of these has been the most unpretending —the Shorter Catechism, which substantially in its doctrinal part follows the school of St. Augustine, but in point of method, very unfortunately, did not follow the plan of Calvin, in starting from an exposition of the articles of the Apostles' Creed.[1]

[1] To the same influence we also owe our present metrical Psalter, by Francis Rous, a member of the Long Parliament, and lay member of the Westminster Assembly. The Psalter was authorized by the General Assembly and Commission of Estates in 1650.

The Westminster Assembly, whose name is so familiar in Scottish Church history, was constituted by an ordinance of the Lords and Commons of England on 12th June, 1643, "that such a government should be settled in the Church as may be most agreeable to God's Holy Word, and most apt to procure and preserve the peace of the Church at home, and nearer agreement with the Church of Scotland and other Reformed churches abroad." The Assembly consisted of 10 peers, 20 members of the Commons—as lay assessors—and 121 clergymen, with Dr. Twiss as prolocutor or president; and its meetings were held in the Jerusalem Chamber at Westminster, and conducted on the model of Parliament itself. Previous to the day of meeting the king declared the Assembly illegal. About sixty-nine of the members nominated by the Lords and Commons defied the king's declaration. Among these were very few Episcopal clergymen, so that this gave Presbyterians and Independents an overwhelming majority, and the Westminster documents a one-sided character.

Commissioners from Scotland were invited to attend the discussions. The clerical commissioners were—Baillie, Henderson, Rutherford, and Gillespie. Robert Douglas was also named, but did not attend. The lay commissioners were—Johnston of Warriston, Lord Cassilis, and Lord Maitland (afterwards Duke of Lauderdale). To these were added Argyll, Balmerinoch, and Loudon, with Robert Meldrum and George Winram.

"The Westminster Confession has taken a firm hold upon the mind of all Presbyterian Churches, not only in Scotland, but throughout the world. And this arises not from its embodiment in statutes of any kind, but from the sources of its own inspiration, and the place which these occupy in the history of religious thought. It is not peculiarly Scotch, nor is it distinctively Presbyterian. There is only a small and comparatively insignificant portion of it which is marked by the influence of local and temporary circumstances. A learned and able defender of it in recent times has said with truth:[1]—'It is lined and scored with the marks of conflict, but the deepest and

[1] "Lect. on the Westminster Confession," by Professor Mitchell, D.D., of St. Andrews: Edinburgh, 1876

the broadest lines are those which run through all the Christian ages, and which appear distinctly either in the creeds of the early councils or in the writings of the greatest of the Latin fathers, or which, if they are not found so prominently there, appear broad and deep in the teaching both of the Greek and of the Latin Church, and of the ablest theologians of the middle ages.' It is to this fundamental coincidence with the main stream of Christian teaching that it owes its strength and the hold it has acquired over so large an extent of Christian ground. A corresponding width of interpretation must be given to it. This may be gathered from its history as well as from its words. It was not drawn upon the model of the old native Scotch Confession, but on the model of the Articles of the Church of England. And the amplification which it makes of these articles is one which did not come from any Scotch or Presbyterian hands, but mainly from the hands of one of the most eminent divines of the Episcopal Church, Archbishop Ussher. It represents his view, not of any local or provincial controversy, but of the sum and substance of the Reformed doctrine."[1]

It is to the period and influence of the Westminster Assembly that we have to trace the discontinuance of Knox's Liturgy. It was not forbidden, but simply dropped, possibly as a Scottish sacrifice to counterbalance the English sacrifice in passing by the English Prayer Book. In 1641 a proposal to revise the Book of Common Order and to prepare a catechism was referred to Henderson,[2] who replied, "Nor could I take upon me either to determine some points controverted, or to set down other forms of prayer than we have in our Psalm Book, penned by our great and divine Reformer."

The period from the Civil War to the king's execution (1642-

[1] Duke of Argyll, *Contemporary Review*, January, 1878.

[2] Alexander Henderson, born at Creich, in Fife, was educated at St. Salvator's College. From 1610 he taught for several years as regent in philosophy, and in 1615 was appointed by Archbishop Gladstanes minister of Lenchars. He proved an earnest minister —zealous in education, founding and endowing two schools at Creich and Lenchars. In 1618, at the Perth Assembly, he spoke and voted against the Five Articles. He was one of the first to refuse to read the king's Service Book. Thrice he was Moderator of Assembly—1638, 1641, 1643. At the signing of the Covenant in 1638 he was one of those who prayed and preached, and was the writer of the Solemn League and Covenant. As one of the Scots Commissioners to the Westminster Assembly, he laboured with great diligence, and wrote many of the public documents of the period. In 1646, from the middle of May till the middle of July, he had a correspondence with King Charles on Presbytery and Prelacy. The same year, in the middle of August, he died at Edinburgh.

1649), ecclesiastically as well as politically, turns on a series of five battles—Edgehill, 23rd October, 1642; Marston Moor, 1st July, 1644; Naseby, 14th June, 1645; Philiphaugh, 13th September, 1645; Preston, 18th August, 1648. The first conflict between the Royal and Parliamentary troops, at Edgehill, was indecisive. In the next battle, at Marston Moor, the Parliamentary troops, under Cromwell and David Leslie (nephew of the old field-marshal), defeated the king's troops under Rupert. After this battle Cromwell reorganized the army under the name of the "New Model," and brought the religious enthusiasm of his "Ironsides" to meet the chivalry of the Cavaliers. The result was a decisive victory at Naseby. In the next battle, three months later, at Philiphaugh, the royal cause was utterly wrecked, when David Leslie surprised and defeated the Marquis of Montrose, who had gained so many successes for the king in the Highlands for two years past at Blair-Atholl, Tibbermuir, Aberdeen, Inverlochy, Dundee, Auldearn, and Kilsyth.

At this time the executions of loyal and good Scotsmen by the Estates, goaded on by the Covenanters, were frequent and disgraceful. Sir John Gordon of Haddo (from whose confinement the dungeon beside St. Giles' was called Haddo's Hole) was guillotined 19th July, 1644; the same fate and date applying to Captain John Logie, who had been captured with him. James Small, a messenger from Montrose to the king, was hanged at the Cross, 1st May, 1645. After the battle of Philiphaugh prisoners to whom quarter was promised by Leslie were slaughtered in the courtyard of Newark Castle, on the brutal pressure of certain army chaplains,[1] while others were smashed and drowned by being thrown over a high bridge on Ettrick or Yarrow. Ten prisoners of mark made at Philiphaugh were appointed to death. Three of these suffered at Glasgow—viz. Sir W. Rollock, Ogilvie of Inverarity, only eighteen years of age, and Sir W. Nisbet. At St. Andrews were guillotined Sir Robert Spottiswoode, secretary for Scotland, and second son of the primate; Captain Andrew Guthrie, son of Bishop Guthrie of Moray; Colonel Nathaniel Gordon, on 20th January, 1646; and at the same place, two days later, William Murray, brother of Earl Tullibardine. In Kintyre took place a massacre of poor disarmed natives by

[1] Lawson, 647.

Leslie, instigated by a Covenanting preacher called John Nevay.[1] In February, 1645, a committee of Assembly pressed for the execution of political prisoners in the Tolbooth, when Wishart, afterwards bishop of Edinburgh, and Irvine of Drum and two of his sons were, in the loathsome place called the Thieves' Hole, fighting for their lives with swarms of rats. It is only fair to record these barbarities perpetrated on Episcopalians and Loyalists by the Scots Estates when in sympathy with the Covenanting leaders, for it was these and like excesses that prompted the terrible revenge that for twenty-eight years followed the Restoration of 1660.

The Civil War being ended by the battle of Philiphaugh, a new struggle began between the army and Parliament in England, in the course of which the Sectaries, Dissidents, or Independents came to the front, and got the better of the Presbyterians, treating them in turn with no small part of the cruelty which they had, in their day of power, exercised on the Episcopalians, and above all leaving to the Presbyterians, who began the disorder, a great part of the odium and disgrace associated with the rule of Cromwell. In May, 1646, the king took refuge in the Scots camp at Newark, in Nottinghamshire, where he remained for eight months with Lord Leven, who fell back on Newcastle. But on 30th January, 1647, the Scots army accepted £400,000 in discharge of their claims, gave up the king to a committee of Parliament, and crossed the Border homeward. The king escaped from restraint at Hampton Court to the Isle of Wight, where from November, 1647, to September, 1648, he was a prisoner at Carisbrooke Castle, when an "engagement" was entered into with the Scots Estates, headed by the Duke of Hamilton, to give parliamentary sanction to the Solemn League and Covenant, provided none be compelled to take it against their wills; to establish Presbytery in England for three years, provided king and household were allowed their own mode of worship; and after these three years to establish such a polity as the Westminster divines, with twenty commissioners of the king's nomination, should determine as most agreeable to the Word of God. In a General Assembly at Edinburgh in July, 1648, the engagement was opposed; but

[1] Lawson, 653.

the Estates took their own way and raised an army, which, under the Duke of Hamilton, was defeated by Cromwell at Preston. After Preston, Cromwell marched to Edinburgh, dispersed the Royalists, and reinstated Argyll in power, whereon the bitter and narrow faction of the Protesters or Remonstrants grew in influence. This was the period of the Whigamores' Raid, when the Covenanters of Ayrshire crowded to Edinburgh, made friends with Cromwell, and passed the Act of Classes, by which they excluded from office and from the army all who had taken part in the engagement. Meanwhile in England, "Pride's Purge," by violently removing 140 members from Parliament, gave the Independents the mastery of the Presbyterians. When Parliament and army were thus made synonymous, the end was that on 30th January, 1649, the king was beheaded at Whitehall in front of his own palace.

Considering the cruel end of the king, tyrant though he was, and considering that the first direct step towards that end was in the Scots army, on 30th January, 1647, delivering up Charles to his enemies at Newcastle on a bargain of £400,000, to be paid within two and a half years, the Scots, and especially the Presbyterians, have been ever since accused in history of the base crime of *selling their king*. Blame they must bear, and that heavy, but not to the extent of a conscious or intentional *sale*. Seeing that the king had in his great distress voluntarily taken refuge in the Scots camp, thus appealing alike to their pity and remnant of loyalty, it was their clear duty to have by solemn writing stipulated for his life and good treatment as a prisoner, before handing him over to others. Moreover, it was a base folly to mix up a cash bargain with one of the most serious political acts that the representatives of any nation could engage in. On the other side there are two great and decisive facts that effectively exculpate the Scots from both the sale and subsequent fate of the king. (1) The army which they afterwards raised to deliver him from his extreme danger and shameful imprisonment, and which met so unhappy a fate at Preston five months before the king's execution, and before the violence of Colonel Pride to the English Parliament made the king's trial possible; (2) the bold and immediate proclamation of Charles II. as king by the Estates at Edinburgh on

5th February, only six days after his father's death, show the broad distinction, alike in principle and policy, between the Scots and the regicide party.

In the same year of blood and revenge by temporary law, took place three most cruel executions of honourable men—the Duke of Hamilton, 9th March (in London); Earl Huntly, 22nd March; and the Marquis of Montrose, 25th May.

James, the third marquis and first duke of Hamilton, was born in 1606, and from boyhood had been a favourite of Charles I., so that when he was charged with treason by Lord Ochiltree, the king spurned the idea. In 1630 he entrusted him with 6000 men to serve under Gustavus Adolphus in aid of Bohemia. Nothing could exceed the prudence and zeal of the marquis in his difficult post at the Glasgow Assembly in 1638, yet in 1643, just after being made duke, he was imprisoned by the king on suspicion, and only released in 1646. He vindicated himself nobly by joining Charles in the Scots camp at Newcastle, and trying to prevent his being given up to the English. His failure at Preston put him in the power of Cromwell, so that he came to his end by execution at the hands of the usurper. Scotland in that age had no truer patriot, and the king no more loyal adherent, than James, duke of Hamilton and earl of Cambridge.

The story of James Grahame, "the great Montrose," is even more brilliant than that of Hamilton. Full justice has been done to his heroic devotion to his king in Mr. Mark Napier's "Life and Times of Montrose;" and his death has been nobly commemorated in Aytoun's ballad, "The Execution of Montrose." The studied indignities of his treatment, and the horrible details of his sentence, cause burning shame in every Scottish breast, that the Covenanters, while struggling for political and ecclesiastical freedom, should have sunk to such depths of revenge and meanness on a fellow Scot, far more loyal than themselves and possessed of military genius of the highest type.

Three months after the king's death the Commonwealth was formally proclaimed. The Scots, however, at once proclaimed Charles II., and sent an embassy to the new king at the Hague.

The events of this period (as concerns Scotland) are again

determined by battle — Dunbar, 3rd September, 1650, and Worcester, 3rd September, 1651, the latter called by Cromwell his "crowning mercy." From August, 1649, to the following March, Cromwell was engaged in Ireland at Drogheda, Wexford, and Clonmel, in butcheries which stain his name. In May, 1650, his army crossed the Tweed, and after several shiftings along the east coast from Edinburgh to Dunbar, he at last engaged and defeated Leslie, who had rashly left his strong hill-position. In an eight miles' chase 3000 Scots were slain and 10,000 made prisoners. After this great victory Cromwell visited Edinburgh, Linlithgow, Kilsyth, and Glasgow, making a sort of mockery of the Covenant as he proceeded. Next year, on the anniversary of Dunbar, he fought at Worcester, when Leslie was made prisoner, his army annihilated, and Charles forced to flee to France to enter on nine years more of exile, although he had signed the Covenant twice in 1650 (in June at Speymouth, and in August at Dunfermline), and although he had been crowned at Scone on 1st January, 1651, Argyll placing the crown on his head, and Robert Douglas preaching the coronation sermon. Since the battle of Dunbar, Cromwell had handed over Scotland to be repressed by General Monk, who, after storming Dundee two days before the battle of Worcester, kept rigorous order as long as the Commonwealth lasted.

On 19th April, 1653, Cromwell turned out the English Parliament, and locked the door. After the "Barebones" Parliament, another, called in 1654, was dissolved in January, 1655. When offered the title of king in 1657, Cromwell declined it, and took that of Protector. In February, 1658, he dissolved another Parliament in a rage, and died 3rd September of the same year. His son Richard succeeded as Protector, but being a simple quiet man, he made haste to quit a dangerous place in favour of the king; so that when Monk, with his army from Scotland, marched south in November, 1659, the way was prepared for the exile, whose entry to London took place 29th May, 1660.

These years of the Protectorate were for Scotland years of peace, although not of liberty. The Church had no General Assembly since 1653, when in July, at Edinburgh, in the very midst of a sederunt, the members were turned out of doors by

Lieutenant-Colonel Cotterell, and marched out of town between two lines of soldiers. It is marvellous how easily Cromwell usually gets off in Church history, in spite of all his misdoings in these years, mainly because of his alliance with the Sectaries in England and the Protesters in Scotland. The root of the most of our ecclesiastical and political calamities from 1643 to 1660 was, that the semi-legitimate Covenant of 1638, for plain self-defence, justifiable in the circumstances, was degraded into a compulsory League and Covenant in 1643, for the oppression of England—a sin avenged on Scotland by the kindred tyranny and wilder fanaticism of the English Sectaries, which turned the tables on us for needlessly interfering against Episcopacy in a neighbouring and independent nation. These Scottish excesses from 1643 to 1660 hamper fair-minded churchmen in condemning to the full the cruel retaliations of Charles II. But the saddest and most lasting result that came to Scotland when religion ran to seed in the whims and fanaticism of the Cromwellian and Puritan period, is that these oddities and excesses got to be perpetuated among us in the spirit and form of dissent, vexing the Church, like a divine judgment, with internal strife, and the presence of an unreasonable and irreconcilable element from these days till now; whereas it has been the effort of the National Church for two centuries to rid itself of crotchets, and get back to the good sense and tolerance which marked the Reformed Church from 1560 to 1596.

Principal Lee, the best authority in such matters of this century, gives the following account of the contending parties, and the ecclesiastical degradation that came from Puritan influence in Scotland in the Commonwealth period:—

"The Presbyterians were not, however, dispirited by this disaster (the defeat at Dunbar). They resolved to provide for the national safety by endeavouring to unite all parties in the public service. They prepared two resolutions—one, that those who had hitherto been obnoxious, either for their neutrality or for their share in the engagement under the Duke of Hamilton, should be allowed and encouraged to make a profession of their repentance; and another, that after testifying their repentance, they should be admitted to share in the defence of the kingdom.

"When these resolutions were adopted by Parliament, the Malignants and Engagers, eager to be received into the public service, complied with the forms required by the Church for the purpose of obtaining absolution. But this step was followed by new dissensions. The same party in the Church which had opposed the Engagement now protested against the admission of any of the disaffected to serve in the cause, and declared that their pretended repentance was a profanation of the Divine ordinances, from which no good could be expected. An association was framed against the Sectaries, and a remonstrance against the king by five western counties—Ayr, Renfrew, Galloway, Wigtown, and Dumfries; and from this period the Church and the nation were divided into Resolutioners and Remonstrants or Protesters. The Remonstrants considered the treaty with the king as criminal, and proposed that he should be suspended from the government till he gave clear evidences of his repentance; and they protested that it was unjust to impose on others a prince unworthy to reign in Scotland, or to interfere in the affairs of an independent nation. The remonstrance was condemned by the Committee of Estates as seditious. They, in the meantime, withheld their levies to the number of four or five thousand; and thus, instead of uniting to resist the aggressions of Cromwell, the Covenanters, by their violent divisions, were working out their own destruction.

"It was the great error of the Presbyterian churchmen of that age that they interfered too much in the conduct of civil affairs.[1] But they were the fittest men of those times for the management of public business, and if they had not been unhappily divided from one another, their councils might have been productive of the most salutary effects. They were far more distinguished for their courage than many of the military leaders; and when the cowardice or treachery of Dundas, the governor

[1] This just censure by Principal Lee is even better put by Dr. Cook (iii. 163), who says—"Many of the clergy who now guided the counsels of their brethren had exhausted their eloquence in representing interference with the civil power as a proof of the corruption of Episcopacy, and had insisted upon the exclusion of churchmen from all offices connected with political avocations, as essential to the existence of an efficient ministry, and to the dissemination of religious knowledge. Yet these men, who were so shocked that bishops, by having a seat in Parliament, could calmly and constitutionally guard the rights of the Church, and moderate the ardour of lay ambition, had no hesitation virtually to assume the reins of government, to set the legislature at defiance, and to dictate to the people the manner in which, as members of the Commonwealth, they ought to act."

of Edinburgh Castle, delivered up that fortress (1650) to the English, the ministers of Edinburgh, who had taken refuge in it, protested against its ignominious surrender. The moderate Covenanters, by far the most numerous party, united with the other Royalists to defend the king and the country. But the ill-advised plan of marching into England was ruinous to their cause. The battle of Worcester almost annihilated their army, and compelled the king to abandon his dominions; and while the martial strength of the kingdom was thus wasted on a delirious expedition, Scotland, abandoned by its defenders, fell an easy prey to the ferocious General Monk.

"To ingratiate themselves with Cromwell, the Protesters declined praying for the king, and framed their churches after the model of the Sectarians. *They introduced a mode of celebrating the Divine ordinances, which till that time had been unknown in Scotland,* and which came afterwards to be generally practised by those whose meetings were interdicted by the severe enactments of the Government after the king's restoration. *They preached and prayed at much greater length and with much greater fervour than their brethren. At the administration of the communion they collected a great number of ministers, and performed Divine service two or three successive days before, and one at least after, the solemnity.* On such occasions not fewer than twelve or fifteen sermons were delivered in the course of three or four days to the same audience; but as the numbers attracted to the spot were often far greater than could hear the voice of one man, it was not uncommon to divide them into two or three separate congregations, to each of which a succession of preachers was assigned, and thus thirty or forty sermons were preached to the different groups of communicants and spectators. Their harangues were generally unpremeditated, and their devotions were supposed by the people, and perhaps by the speakers themselves, to be dictated by a celestial impulse. In this style of preaching, and in the performance of other public exercises of religion, the Protesters were imitated by many of the Resolutioners, who still maintained their fidelity to the king; but as this party was composed chiefly of more reasonable men, they could not allow themselves, for the sake of popularity, to adopt all that vehemence of utterance, and that redundancy of matter, with that

assumption of a prophetical character, which distinguished some of their rivals."[1]

It is well to remember that the first schism in the Church of Scotland originated in 1651, in the Cromwellian period, and under the malign influence of English Puritanism, to which is traceable the innovating, captious, and hot-headed party of the Protesters.

After the destruction of the Scots army at Worcester, 3rd September, 1651, and the flight of the king to the Continent, the ministers neither taught the people in the old way, nor guarded them against the Sectaries, who had now supreme civil control and acknowledged no Covenant. Cromwell suppressed General Assemblies. One met at Edinburgh in July, 1650, with Andrew Cant as moderator, but its Acts are not printed. The next was at St. Andrews in June, 1651, but adjourned. When it met next month in Dundee, with Robert Douglas as moderator, its members fled on hearing of Cromwell's soldiers coming from Perth. The next was at Edinburgh in July, 1652. The next, at Edinburgh in July, 1653, with David Dickson as moderator, was, as we have said, forcibly dispersed by Colonel Cotterell; and the last for the Commonwealth period, at Edinburgh in July, 1654, was suppressed by soldiers before it had been constituted.[2] When the General Assembly approved the resolution of the Commission respecting the Malignants (to let them join in the defence of their common country in its day of danger in 1648) the Remonstrants protested bitterly both in 1651 and 1652. When the king was a wanderer, and his supporters, the so-called Malignants, no longer existed as a party, the Remonstrants yet persisted as a faction in opposing the great body of the clergy. The Resolutioners dealt mildly with them, considering their venom and wildness of principle, but in hope of checking them deposed three of their ringleaders—viz. James Guthrie of Stirling, Patrick Gillespie of Glasgow, and James Simpson of Airth—while James Naismith of Hamilton was suspended. Offended by this well-merited check, the rest of the Remonstrants left the Assembly, in the way of *secession*, for a separate existence,

[1] "History," ii. 309.

[2] The best account of the miserable Assemblies, 1649 to 1654, is given by Peterkin "Records," Appendix, 591–670.

and in order to organize an opposition. They adopted the mischievous and disorderly plan of having great and heated gatherings of ministers, elders, and church members (the discontented of many parishes) assembled for joint worship, followed by discussions resembling those of church courts, in which they did not scruple to condemn everything they disapproved of, although enacted by regular General Assemblies. Similar district gatherings of a vehement nature were arranged for the celebration of the Lord's Supper, with a compound multiplication of preaching and praying hitherto unknown in Scotland, the whole being characterized by a gloom and fanaticism verging on frenzy. Embittered against the Church, and willing to accept any help, the Remonstrants, who were Covenanters run to seed, actually came round to frame an alliance with the Sectaries, who made a mock of the Covenant and were open republicans. This unprincipled conjunction secured to the Remonstrants the sympathy and control of the military power of the day, and led to their being able, although a minority, to persecute the Resolutioners, who were the only legal representatives of the Church of the Covenant. Describing this period in a letter of 19th July, 1654, to his Continental friend Spang, Baillie says:—

"As for our Church affairs, thus they stand:—The Parliament of England had given to the English judges and sequestrators a very ample commission to put out and in ministers as they saw cause. According to this power they put Mr. John Row in Aberdeen, Mr. Robert Leighton in Edinburgh, Mr. Patrick Gillespie in Glasgow, and Mr. Samuel Colville they offered to the Old College of St. Andrews. All our colleges are likely to be undone. Our churches are in great confusion. No intrant gets any stipend till he has petitioned and subscribed some acknowledgment to the English. When a very few of the Remonstrants and Independent party will call a man, he gets the kirk and the stipend; but whom the presbytery and the whole congregation call and admit, he must preach in the fields, or in a barn, without stipend. . . . .

"As for our State, this is its case—our nobility near all wrecked. Dukes Hamilton, the one executed, the other slain; their estate forfeited; one part of it gifted to English soldiers, the rest will not pay the debts; little left to the heretrix; almost the whole name undone with debt. Huntly executed, his sons all dead but the youngest; there is more debt on the house than the family can pay; Lennox is living as a man buried in his house of Cobham; Argyll almost drowned with debt, in friendship with the English, but in hatred with the country; he courts the Remonstrators, who are averse from him; Chancellor Loudon lives like an outlaw about Atholl,

his lands confiscated for debt under a general very great disgrace; Marischal, Rothes, Eglinton, and his three sons; Crawford, Lauderdale, and others, prisoners in England; and their lands either sequestrated or forfeited, and gifted to English soldiers; Balmerino suddenly dead, and his son, for public debt, comprizings, and captions, keeps not the causeway; Warriston, having refunded most of what he got for places, lives privately in a hard enough condition, much hated by the most, and neglected by all except the Remonstrants, to whom he is guide. Our criminal judicatures are all in the hands of the English; our civil courts in their hands also. The commissariat and sheriff courts are all in the hands of the English soldiers, with the adjunction in some places of some few Remonstrants. Strong garrisons in Leith, Edinburgh town and castle, Glasgow, Ayr, Dunbarton, Stirling, Linlithgow, Perth, Dundee, Burntisland, Dunnotter, Aberdeen, Inverness, Inverary, Dunstaffnage, &c."[1]

Violating the Covenant in one of its express branches, the Remonstrants ceased, after the battle of Worcester, to pray for the king during public worship. On the other hand, on the death of Cromwell, 3rd September, 1658, the constitutional covenanting party of the Resolutioners began to take steps for the restoration of the monarchy.

"On one point nearly all historians are agreed, that it was their spirit (the Protesters') and the course they pursued which rent the Church in pieces, which caused the restoration of Episcopacy in 1662, and drove many into conformity with it who had perilled life and fortune for its overthrow a quarter of a century before. The Resolutioners were wedded to the 'middle way which standeth betwixt Popish and Prelatical tyranny, and Brownistical and popular anarchy,' and some of them, like Baillie and Dixon, died of broken hearts, as they saw one extreme inevitably pave the way for the other. Scotland can never forget the Protesters who were martyred at the Restoration, nor those who stood by the Church in her ruins; but it is not less important to remember the lesson taught by the divisions that preceded."[2]

The chief clerical leaders of the Church in the period between the Glasgow Assembly and the Restoration were Alexander Henderson, Samuel Rutherford, Robert Baillie, and George Gillespie. Of these four, only Rutherford and Baillie survived the Restoration, but neither long enough to witness or suffer from its effects, except in foresight of coming calamities. Henderson

[1] Letters quoted in Peterkin, "Records," 666.
[2] Dr. Sprot', Introd. to Book of Common Order, p. lxvi.

and Gillespie, dying in 1646 and 1648, were off the field before the existence of the debased faction of the Protesters; but the latter, had he been spared so long, would certainly have joined them, if we may judge by his vehemence when moderator (just before his death), when his very prayers from the chair showed a strong political bias against the Committee of Estates,[1] and the Assembly under his partisan control made a violent declaration against a recent Act of Parliament. Henderson, on the other hand, was too sober and judicious to have thus gone astray, and the Church was fortunate in having at its head a man of such firmness and business capacity in the crisis of 1638. The best man of all the four was undoubtedly Robert Baillie, who was really representative of what was best and most temperate in the Covenanting Church of his age. The most exceptional man of the group was Rutherford, who, with all his faults, was a good scholar. While he is lauded to adoration by one set of writers, in deference to whom Stanley calls him "the true saint of the Covenant," it is a fact that his letters on religious subjects are in many places barely decent in their figurative language—that his "Lex Rex" is steeped in sedition—and that his red-hot furnace style of prayer was an importation from the anti-Church Brownists of Ireland, while his whole relation to Church courts and Church business was that of a firebrand.

[1] Cook, iii. 160.

CHAPTER XVIII.

FROM THE RESTORATION, 1660, TO THE REVOLUTION, 1688.

Policy of the Restoration government—Execution of the Marquis of Argyll, &c.—The Act Rescissory—Plot for the overthrow of Presbytery—The author of it—Cromwell's estimate of Sharpe—Act for the Re-establishment of Episcopacy—The Covenant burned by the common hangman—Origin of field-preaching—Introduction of the thumb-screw into Scotland—Graham of Claverhouse—The Court of High Commission—The rising at Dalry—Battle of Rullion Green—Torture of the boot—The Assertory Act—Acts against Conventicles and absence from church—The Highland Host—Murder of Archbishop Sharpe—Battles of Drumclog and Bothwell Bridge—Indulgences—The Cameronians—Sanquhar Declaration—Aird's Moss—Test Act—Execution of Earl of Argyll, Baillie of Jerviswood, and others—Death of Charles and succession of James VII.—Atrocities of this period—The last of the martyrs—Three memorial volumes—Robert Wodrow—Landing of William of Orange, and flight of James—Re-establishment of Presbytery—Literary character of the Covenanters.

ALTHOUGH Charles II. was crowned at Scone in 1651, the monarchy was in abeyance for a period of eleven years, counting these from the execution of Charles I. in 1649 to the triumphal entry of Charles II. into London, 29th May, 1660.

One of the earliest and clearest tokens of the temper and policy of the Restoration Government lies in a series of three executions.

The Marquis of Argyll was beheaded 27th May, 1661, though he had set the crown on the king's head at Scone. There was treachery in his capture at London when on his way to pay homage to the king. There was baseness in Monk helping his doom by sending letters he had received from Argyll to his prosecutors in Edinburgh. The chief charges were his having signed the Solemn League and Covenant, and his complying with Oliver Cromwell, partly in October, 1648, when he opposed the "engagement," but mainly in 1652. The second victim was James Guthrie, minister of Stirling since 1649, who had given special offence by his connection with the "Western Remonstrance" of 17th October, 1650, a "Supplication," in August, 1660, and a pamphlet, "Causes of the Lord's Wrath," written in 1651. Earl Middleton had also a grudge against him for an excommunication he had pronounced on him. The execution took place 1st June, 1661. After his head was placed on the

Netherbow Port, drops of blood from it fell on Middleton's coach when passing underneath; and there is a legend of new leather being necessary to avoid the tell-tale stain. The third victim was Archibald Johnston, lord Warriston. He had been active with legal advice in connection with the "Tables," was clerk to the great Glasgow Assembly and to other Assemblies during several years, was one of the Lords of Session and one of the lay commissioners to the Westminster Assembly. Like Argyll and Guthrie he had opposed the "engagement" for the king's rescue in 1648. The order for his seizure came in July, 1660; but he fled to France, was hunted down and brought to Edinburgh, tried, and executed 22nd July, 1663.

Before coming to the Rescissory Act of the Parliament of 28th March, 1661, it is important to note preparatory signs and understandings as to what was to be done relative to the Church. The mere restoration of monarchy was not necessarily adverse to Presbytery, for the Church had very early sent deputies to arrange for the king's return, and the whole of the clergy (the undoubted majority) belonging to the party of the Resolutioners were decided Royalists. It was only the more extreme of the Protesters who were semi-republican. A letter from the king dated 10th August, 1660, was delivered by James Sharpe, the future primate, on 1st September to Robert Douglas for the Presbytery of Edinburgh, bearing that "because they who, by the countenance of usurpers, have disturbed the peace of that our Church, may also labour to create jealousies in the minds of well-meaning people, we have thought fit, by this, to assure you that, by the grace of God, we resolve to discountenance profaneness, and all contemners and opposers of the ordinances of the Gospel. We do also resolve to protect and preserve the government of the Church of Scotland, as it is settled by law, without violation, and to countenance, in the due exercise of their functions, all such ministers who shall behave themselves dutifully and peaceably, as becomes men of their calling. We will also take care that the authority and acts of the General Assembly at Dundee, 1651 [which sanctioned the Resolutions], be owned and stand in force, until we shall call another General Assembly, which we purpose to do as soon as our affairs shall permit; and we do intend to send for Mr.

Robert Douglas and some other ministers, that we may speak with them in what further may concern the affairs of that Church." Here the king promises expressly to ratify the proceedings of one Assembly, to summon another, and to consult with eminent ministers as to further arrangements. There is no hint of overthrow of Presbytery. The king's letter was composed by Sharpe, and when Earl Middleton, who was commissioned to open the Scots Parliament, first read it, he was amazed, and reproached Sharpe for having abandoned and destroyed the design of introducing Episcopacy, to which he had previously agreed. Sharpe explained that the king's declaration would keep the Presbyterians quiet, and if the Parliament settled Episcopacy by law this would fulfil the king's promise. Middleton's answer was that this might be done, but that he did not love the way which made the king's first appearance in Scotland to be a cheat.[1]

A letter from the Earl of Lauderdale dated Whitehall, 23rd October, 1660, to Robert Douglas, shows how late of formation was the final resolve:—"As to the concerns of our mother Kirk, I can only promise my faithful endeavours in what may be for her good; and indeed it is no small matter to me in serving my master, to find that his Majesty is so fixed in his resolution not to alter anything in the government of that Church. Of this you may be confident, though I dare not answer: but some would be willing enough to have it otherwise. I dare not doubt of the honest ministers continuing in giving constant testimonies of their duty to the king, and your letter confirms me in these hopes; and they doing their duty, I dare answer for the king, having of late had full contentment in discoursing with his Majesty on that subject. His Majesty hath told me that he intends to call a General Assembly, and I have drawn a proclamation for that purpose, but the day is not yet resolved on." Sharpe himself, after returning from Holland, had written that the king was very affectionate to Scotland, and was resolved not to wrong the Scottish polity of the Church.[2] The blunder of Scotland, and of England as well, was in arranging the king's

[1] Cook, iii. 230.

[2] Wodrow in his Introduction to "History of the Sufferings," goes over the whole of Sharpe's correspondence at this critical period.

restoration without limiting the prerogative—an oversight which arose partly from negligence and partly from enthusiasm of loyalty, especially in England, on escaping the domination of the Commonwealth. When Scottish Church affairs were under the consideration of a meeting of the Scots Privy Council held in London, but with an admixture of English members present, the Earl of Crawford and Duke of Hamilton had sided with Lauderdale in resisting an attack on the Church, and the king was inclined to agree, but other Scottish members, aided by Sharpe, the Earl of Clarendon, and Duke of Ormond, carried the king with them.

The Acts of the Parliament which sat in Edinburgh from 1st January to 12th July, 1661, and which, on 28th March, passed the sweeping Act Rescissory, showed from the first revolutionary and arbitrary changes. The very first Act revived the old claim of James VI., asserting the king's supremacy *over all persons and in all causes.* Another Act deprived Warriston of all his offices. On 24th January an Act was passed for the visitation of the colleges of Aberdeen by Sharpe, Halyburton, Strachan, and Paterson, all of whom afterwards became bishops. On 27th January the swearing of the Solemn League and Covenant was prohibited. Other Acts recalled forfeitures and attainders, and gave compensation in many cases, especially to the families of Episcopal clergy who had been wronged since 1638. Many of these things were just in so far as they righted wrongs and excesses mostly associated with the Sectaries and Protesters; but it was a very different thing to confound with these the Resolutioners and Engagers, who formed the bulk of the Scottish Church, who had always been loyal, and had a whole series of Acts of Parliament on their side, besides the king's own coronation oath at Scone and signature to the Covenant in 1651.

The Act Rescissory rescinded or cut off from the body of the law all the statutes passed in the Parliament of 1640 and after, so that it, in fact, reverted to things as they were in 1633. The Acts thus rescinded are not admitted to be valid, but while spoken of as invalid are yet repealed notwithstanding. The Act, such as it was, was rushed through in a hurry, by arrangement between Middleton, the high commissioner, and Primrose,

the lord clerk registrar. The plot is now completed. Sharpe had announced the prospect of a proclamation, assuring his friends of the preservation of the established worship, discipline, and government of their Church. He brings down such a proclamation. Suddenly, as in one of the revolutions of a pantomime, the whole apparatus of the Presbyterian polity is swept from the stage, and Prelacy stands in its place as the established "discipline and government." Is anything necessary to complete the evidence that Sharpe's hand was in this feat? If so, it is at hand in a letter to Middleton, in which he takes credit as the inventor of the whole. Describing an audience with the king, he says: "He spoke to me of the method to be used for bringing about our Church settlement, and bade me give my opinion of a present expedient, which, when I had offered, he was pleased to approve, so did the Bishops of London and Worcester; and after consultation with our lords, it was agreed that Lauderdale and I should draw a proclamation from the king to be sent to your grace, with which I trust you will be satisfied."[1]

This conduct of Sharpe is in unison with Cromwell's estimate of the man when he cleverly nicknamed him "Sharpe of that ilk," which being interpreted is, Sharpe the Sharper. Another interpretation, however, of this *môt* of Cromwell takes the passive instead of the active sense—*i.e.* not that Sharpe practised on others, but that he was too shrewd to be imposed on by Cromwell himself, and was able to see clearly the true interests of Scotland instead of being hoodwinked like the narrow clerics of the Protesting type. In fact the friends of Sharpe complain that he has been misunderstood by fair-minded men as well as misrepresented by others. They think that he honestly made the best of circumstances when he saw Presbytery to be hopeless of attainment or maintenance, and fell back on a modified form of Episcopacy as the only thing open to Charles and the only thing that the English Parliament (smarting from the tyranny of Independents and Presbyterians) would sanction, and that his old co-presbyters vented and resented their own disappointment by throwing all the blame on him.

The next move was on 27th May, 1662, in the "Act for the Restitution and Re-establishment of the Ancient Government

[1] Hill Burton, lxxvii.

of the Church by Archbishops and Bishops." But in preparation for this, fully five months before, a nucleus of prelates had been created on 15th December, Sharpe's charter of presentation by the king to the primacy bearing date, Whitehall, 14th November, 1661.

Of the old race of bishops only Sydserf of Galloway (translated to Orkney in 1662) survived, and the new series received their consecration from and in England. In December, 1661, Sharpe (for St. Andrews), Fairfoul (for Glasgow), Hamilton (for Galloway), and Leighton (for Dunblane) were consecrated in Westminster Abbey, Sharpe and Leighton[1] having to submit to the indignity of previous re-ordination *in private*. This was a repetition of the foreign manipulation of James's bishops of 1610, when Spottiswoode, Hamilton, and Lamb were consecrated in London House by the Bishops of London, Ely, Rochester, and Worcester.

In 1662 signing of the Covenants was declared to be treasonable, yet the Covenant had been subscribed (reluctantly, it is true) by Charles himself in 1650, when Presbyterian support was of use to him. The Covenant was burned by the common hangman in London, 22nd May, 1661, and the burning was repeated with fresh mockery at Linlithgow, 29th May, 1662, on the anniversary of the king's entry into London. An Act of 1662 required that clergymen then in office should remain only on condition of receiving fresh presentation from the law-

[1] Robert Leighton belonged to an old Forfarshire family of Usan, in the parish of Craig, and was born in Edinburgh in 1611. His father, Dr. Alexander Leighton, was a Presbyterian minister and also physician, who in 1629, for a book attacking Episcopacy, was terribly tortured by the Star Chamber, and kept ten years in prison. Leighton's youth was spent in London with his father, and at the age of sixteen he became a student at Edinburgh, graduating in 1631. He continued his studies at Douay, where he learned to appreciate the devotional side of Romanism. From 1641 to 1653 he was minister of Newbattle, where his sermons and "Commentary on St. Peter's Epistles" were mainly written. From 1653 to 1662 he was Principal of the University of Edinburgh, where he gave a weekly Latin lecture on divinity. From 1662 to 1671 he was bishop of Dunblane, and from 1671 to 1674 archbishop of Glasgow. Disappointed with his colleagues, with the government of Charles, and with the prospects of Episcopacy, he resigned his office, and lived for ten years in pious and useful retirement at Broadhurst, Sussex, with a brother-in-law, Mr. Lightwater. His death took place in 1684 in the Bell Inn, Warwick Lane, London. As a bishop, his aims were singularly honest and devout: to inculcate the regular reading of Scripture in public worship; to adhere mainly to Scripture exposition in preaching; to make regular use of Lord's Prayer, Creed, and Doxology in worship; to celebrate the Lord's Supper more frequently; and, as far as possible, maintain a short daily service both in church and house. The wisdom and fine spirit of Leighton's rule in his diocese are best seen in "Register of the Diocesan Synod of Dunblane, 1662–1688," edited by the Rev. Dr. Wilson of Dunning, 1877.

ful patron, and institution from the bishop. From 1649 to 1660 patronage had been in abeyance, and ministers had been elected by kirk-sessions.

On 1st October, 1662, a Privy Council held at Glasgow declared all parishes should be vacant whose ministers had not submitted to the bishops before 1st November. Nearly 300 left their benefices rather than remain against their consciences. This was the origin of the subsequent field-preachings or conventicles. The Glasgow Privy Council was presided over by the Earl of Middleton as Lord High Commissioner; and he and his Council, both at Glasgow and Ayr, in daily and nightly drunkenness, resembled heathen bacchanals more than anything even remotely kindred to Christianity. The 300 outed ministers were replaced by the poorest creatures ever known as clergy in Scotland—illiterate, juvenile, drunken, openly vicious. This evil of unfitness in character and training was increased by their subserviency and cruelty in generally acting as spies and informers on their own parishioners who were Presbyterian, and guiding the rude soldiery who marched about the country.[1]

During the long persecution that ensued, the troops were successively under three commanders—viz. Sir James Turner, General Sir Thomas Dalziel, and John Graham of Claverhouse (Viscount Dundee). When an investigation was made shortly after 1667 into Turner's conduct, he was deprived of all his posts on account of extortion and cruelty, being convicted, on a list of sixteen cases, of "fining and cessing for causes for which there are no warrants."[2] Yet during the investigation this wretch was zealously defended by the Archbishop of Glasgow, Alexander Burnet. Dalziel had served as a soldier of fortune in Russia, and it was he who introduced the Russian barbarity of the thumb-screw into Scotland. Claverhouse, a man of a much higher type than Dalziel, joined refinement and

[1] It would be very wrong to employ language so condemnatory of a large body of clergy unless the evidence was specially clear. One of the leading authorities is Bishop Burnet. In his "History of his Own Time" (i. 260) he says: "They were generally very mean and despicable in all respects, the worst preachers I ever heard, ignorant to a reproach, and many of them openly vicious. They were a disgrace to their order, and were indeed the dregs and refuse of the northern parts. Those of them who were above contempt or scandal were men of such violent tempers that they were as much hated as the others were despised."

[2] Wodrow's "Sufferings," ii. 102.

a certain kind of chivalry to ability and diligence, but reserved his good qualities for those who stood on one side of the line that separated Presbytery from Episcopacy. Measured by unsophisticated popular feeling, the number of his executions, and the cold-bloodedness of his conduct, Claverhouse was, upon the whole, the most hateful of the three tools of tyranny.

In January, 1664, the king erected a Court of High Commission to deal with ecclesiastical affairs; but it proved so violent and provocative, even in the estimate of Charles, that he suppressed it in two years. This Commission, often called the "Crail Court" from the prominence of the primate in it, consisted of forty-five members, of whom nine were bishops and thirty-five laymen. Five members, of whom one must be a bishop, formed a quorum. The court could meet where it pleased, could call any Scotsman before it, was a specially clerical engine, and more remote from legality and impartiality than even the Privy Council, the smallness of its quorum making it particularly handy for the perpetration of jobs as to fines, and revenges as to persons.

Not unnaturally or inexcusably, prolonged and immoderate oppression generated sedition and revolt. On 12th November, 1665, at Dalry, in Galloway, a few men overpowered some soldiers, marched to Dumfries, where they surprised Sir James Turner, then proceeded with increasing numbers to Lanark, Bathgate, Colinton, Pentland, and Rullion Green, where (28th November) an engagement took place, the king's troops being led by Dalziel. The insurgents, a mere mob of 900, were easily defeated and dispersed, with forty-five slain and a hundred captured. John Neilson, laird of Corsock, and Hugh M'Kail, preachers, were put to the torture of the "boot," in presence of Lord Rothes, successor of the drunken Middleton. The execution of Neilson and M'Kail was a special barbarity, allowed to go on by the primate and the Archbishop of Glasgow even after a letter had been received from Charles directing the severities to cease for the present.[1] The captives of Rullion Green were hanged in groups of ten and seven and sixteen.

On 10th November, 1669, was passed the Assertory Act, declaring the king inherently supreme over all persons and in all

[1] Wodrow, "Sufferings," ii. 38.

causes, the aim of the Act being to shorten the road of Covenanters to execution. The severities of special legislation, however, only had the effect of making field meetings more frequent, bolder, and larger.

The increase of field-preaching was resented by a fresh Act, in July, 1670, against conventicles, whereby any man might be forced to reveal what he knew about them on oath, and every field-preacher was to be punished with death and confiscation.[1] Another Act construed into crime every baptism performed by an outed minister. And still another Act made criminal simple absence from church (*i.e.* from Episcopal service) on three successive Sundays. The curates had a roll of parishioners which was called over at the close of the Church service, when the names of the absent were marked and reported to the commanding officer of the nearest troop of soldiers. No wonder such representatives of the Gospel made no headway in the country. These Acts were enforced in part by means of fines; and the spoliation that went on may be judged from the single instance of the small county of Renfrew, where in a few years fines amounted to £368,000 Scots—a sum then so ruinous and impossible that the Government, with all its ferocity and rapacity, was forced to compound.

In 1669 an indulgence, the first of a series of three, was granted by the king and council, whereby peaceable outed ministers were permitted to hold manse and glebe, and a yearly "maintenance," and to minister only in their own parish. This was accepted by forty-three of the ejected. A second indulgence in 1672 was accepted by about eighty more. The violent Covenanters blamed these men as unfaithful; but this was a harsh judgment on men who had suffered since 1662, whose aim now was to preach the Gospel for a bare subsistence, and who were not forced to abjure the old principles that were dear to them. Between these indulgences good Bishop Leighton tried a better and gentle plan of his own, endeavouring with concurrence of the Government to effect an "accommodation" of the nature of truce or compromise between Episcopalian and Presbyterian. Men called the "Bishop's Evangelists" tried this with less success than they deserved. Alas, the Covenanters were too argu-

[1] The first Act against conventicles was dated 7th December, 1665.

mentative, too long persecuted, too often deceived to take even Leighton at his word.

In 1676 letters of intercommuning (*i.e.* of civil excommunication) were issued against about a hundred persons, whose fault lay in their adhering to Presbyterianism when the king had ordered all to be Episcopalian. These hundred were mostly ministers and lairds who had not appeared before the Council when summoned. This intensely personal form of vindictiveness recalls heathen Rome in the proscriptions under Marius and Sulla. Christian men on whose head a price was thus put, and whose lives were in daily peril from informers, could hardly fail to become reckless. Moreover, men in office, who were themselves only legalized murderers and assassins, were hardly entitled to expect consideration from a populace whom they had made desperate.

A glimpse of the depraved character of the highest councillors of the kingdom is seen in the case of Mitchell, a small Edinburgh shopkeeper, who had fired a pistol at Archbishop Sharpe when entering his carriage. On mere suspicion, Mitchell was arrested, tried, and tortured. There was no proof but his own confession. A solemn promise of indemnity was made to the man, yet he was tried over again through the urgency of the archbishop, and condemned and executed—the four judges (Lauderdale, Rothes, Hatton, and Sharpe) all joining in an express and public act of perjury in order to clear the way to the scaffold. They denied on oath a promise which stands to this day in the records of the Scottish Privy Council.

In 1678 the west of Scotland had 10,000 soldiers let loose on it, of whom 6000 were Highlanders. Their work was intended to be one of desolation, and was so pitiably sweeping that the Duke of Hamilton and the Earls of Atholl and Perth went to London at the risk of their lives to remonstrate with the king. They succeeded, and the Highland Host was recalled. Wodrow's account of this invasion, from its literal realism, gains a touch of both picturesqueness and humour, which he never dreamed of himself in writing it: "When the Highlanders went back one would have thought that they had been at the sacking of some besieged town, by their baggage and luggage. They were loaded with spoil. They carried away a great many

horses and no small quantity of goods out of merchants' shops, whole webs of linen and woollen cloth, some silver plate bearing the names and arms of gentlemen. You would have seen them with loads of bedclothes, carpets, men's and women's wearing clothes, pots, pans, gridirons, shoes, and other furniture, whereof they had pillaged the country."[1]

On 3rd May, 1679, a small party of outlawed Covenanters committed a great crime and blunder in assassinating Archbishop Sharpe on Magus Moor. They did unspeakable damage to their cause, by confounding base murder with noble resistance to tyranny. Above all, they raised sympathy with the murdered archbishop, who, had he been allowed to die in natural course, would, according to the view here taken of his acting, have come down to posterity as one of the most mercenary and unpatriotic of Scotsmen.

It seems vain to attempt even a partial vindication of Sharpe, to the extent of supposing that his decision to abandon Presbytery was only made *subsequent* to 1661, after it had been overthrown by Parliament. What is worst about him is still untouched—his previous acting as the Church's deputy—his late declaration of his new position—his own acknowledgment (in the British Museum letter quoted by Hill Burton) of his share in the scheme of Charles—and above all, his eager and cruel conduct as the king's tool in persecuting his old co-religionists. He can never cease to be known by his contemporary name of "Judas," and to be associated with the words and estimate of Robert Douglas, who was in company with him in most of the negotiations which ended in the archbishopric, and who was sounded by Sharpe himself on the subject. "James," said Douglas, "I perceive you are clear—I see you will engage—you will be Archbishop of St. Andrews. Take it, then," laying his hand on Sharpe's shoulder, "and *the curse of God with it.*"[2]

On the 29th May, 1679 (anniversary of the king's restoration) a declaration amounting to rebellion was made at Rutherglen by certain of the more desperate of the Presbyterian party, after which they proceeded to Hamilton, and then to Drumclog, while Graham of Claverhouse was marching from Glasgow in pursuit. He overtook them on the 1st of June. They boldly accepted

[1] "Sufferings," ii. 413. [2] Kirkton, 135; Russell, ii. 257.

the challenge of battle, and singing to the tune "Martyrs" Psalm lxxvi., "In Judah's land God is well known," they advanced on the fierce dragoons. After a short but sharp engagement Claverhouse was forced to fly, leaving above thirty of his troopers dead on the moor of Drumclog.

The victorious rebels marched to Glasgow, and after a useless skirmish with the military there, returned to Hamilton, being from 4000 to 5000 strong. There they lay till, on 22nd June, the Duke of Monmouth, coming from England with fresh troops, attacked them at Bothwell Bridge, and utterly defeated them. The only real fighting was on the bridge itself, which was defended by Hackston with a picked guard of 300, who fought for some time with the butt-ends of their muskets, after ammunition failed. It was a sore fight for the Covenanters, as 400 were killed in the flight and 1000 surrendered as prisoners. The place is still shown, alongside the Hamilton and Bothwell road, where the prisoners were forced to lie flat on the moor all night. They were then marched to Edinburgh, and confined for months in the walled graveyard of Greyfriars', under the open sky, and with guards posted along the walls, ready to shoot down every fugitive. A chief cause of this defeat was an incapable and fanatic commander, Robert Hamilton, who encouraged, or permitted, on the very field of battle discussions of points of doctrine and policy as between Resolutioners and Protesters. The more moderate party knew the friendliness of Monmouth, and but for the obstinacy of the Protesters might, on reasonable terms, have avoided bloodshed. The want of common discipline made an orderly retreat impossible, and led to the large number of killed and captured.[1]

Fully a month after the battle an Act of Indemnity was passed, but to little purpose. This was the third indulgence of a somewhat similar kind during the long-continued atrocities of Charles. The first was in 1669, and the second in 1672.

[1] An ancestor and namesake of the writer, a laird from the parish of Shotts, was among the 300 who fought at the bridge gateway, and it is a family tradition that they were helpless for want of gunpowder, some kegs of raisins being opened instead of ammunition at the critical moment. Guns being useless, they were pushed by weight of bodies along the bridge, and after being driven ten or fifteen yards, made another stand and wild charge with clubbed guns, and got back half-way to the gate, only, however, afresh to be overborne by the bodily weight of Monmouth's men pushing with the advantage of the brae on the Bothwell side.

These indulgences cannot be interpreted in favour of the good sense or moderation of the king, because the severities immediately preceding, and especially following each, indicate too surely the same line of policy. In the language of the period these little pauses of persecution were called the "blinks" (referring to occasional dry and sunny hours in an otherwise untoward harvest). The "blinks" fell between the severities after the Pentland rising and the severities after the murder of the archbishop, which in the same language of the period were called the "killing times."

After the date of Bothwell Bridge we mark the rise of the most extreme section of the Covenanters under the various names of Society-men, Cameronians, Hillmen, and Wild Whigs. It was they who, as stormy-petrels, heralded the coming crisis of the great revolution of 1688. While others contented themselves with murmurs or groans under the tyranny of Charles, the Society-men took the bold and headlong plan of publicly declaring the perjuries and oppressions of Charles to be so shameful that he could no longer be counted a sovereign worthy of obedience, and that the throne ought to be held as vacant. One of the earliest of these declarations was an unsigned paper, renouncing allegiance to the king, which was seized on 3rd June, 1680. It was known as the Queensferry Declaration, being found on the person of Hall of Haughhead in Teviotdale, who was killed at Queensferry, by the governor of Blackness Castle.

On 22nd June of the same year twenty-one men of Hall's stamp made a solemn declaration to the same effect, with drawn swords, at the market-cross of Sanquhar:—"We do by these presents disown Charles Stewart, that has been reigning, or rather tyrannizing, on the throne of Britain these years bygone, as having any right, title to, or interest in the crown of Scotland, for government—as forfeited several years since, by his perjury and breach of covenant both to God and his Kirk, and by his tyranny and breach of the very *leges regnandi* (the very essential conditions of government) in matters civil. . . . We do declare a war with such a tyrant and usurper, and all the men of his practices. . . . And we hope after this, none will blame us for or offend at our rewarding those that are

against us as they have done to us, as the Lord gives opportunity." For this daring anticipation of the Revolution some of them quickly suffered; for on the 23rd July sixty-three of the party were surprised at Aird's Moss, in the parish of Auchinleck, by the royal dragoons, when the preacher Cameron, from whom they took their name, was killed; and the furious Hackston, who commanded the 300 on Bothwell Bridge, and had been present at the assassination of Sharpe, was captured. Hackston was executed on 30th July, 1680.

The barbarity of the judges and of the Government of the day appears very plainly from a quotation which Wodrow makes from the books of council, recorded in preparation, *on the day before his trial*:—"That his body be drawn backwards on a hurdle to the cross of Edinburgh; that there be an high scaffold erected a little above the cross, where, in the first place, his right hand is to be struck off, and after some time his left hand; then he is to be hanged up and cut down alive, his bowels to be taken out, and his heart shown to the people by the hangman; then his heart and bowels to be burnt in a fire prepared for that purpose on the scaffold; that afterwards his head be cut off and his body divided into four quarters; his head to be fixed on the Netherbow, one of his quarters with both his hands to be affixed at St. Andrews, another quarter at Glasgow, a third at Leith, a fourth at Burntisland; that none presume to be in mourning for him, or any coffin brought; that no persons be suffered to be on the scaffold with him, save the two bailies, the executioner and his servants; that he be allowed to pray to God Almighty, but not to speak to the people; that the heads of Cameron and John Fowler be affixed on the Netherbow; that Hackston's and Cameron's heads be affixed on higher poles than the rest."

Even this did not daunt the Society-men; for in October of the same year, at a large open-air meeting at Torwood in Stirlingshire, Donald Cargill (for whose seizure, dead or alive, a reward was offered by the king), after sermon, excommunicated the chief persecutors of Scotland—viz. the king, the Duke of York, the Dukes of Lauderdale, Rothes, and Monmouth, General Dalziel, and Sir George Mackenzie.

In 1681 a fresh rigour was laid on the country in the Test

Act, requiring every person in public office to swear that he owned the true Protestant religion as explained in the Confession of 1567; that he acknowledged the king to be supreme in all causes, and over all persons, both civil and ecclesiastical; that he would never consult about any matters of State without his Majesty's express license or command; and never endeavour any alteration in the government of the country. Nearly eighty of the clergy left their parishes rather than thus wound their consciences. The spiritless Parliament passed also a Royal Succession Act, which was intended to smooth the way for the Duke of York's succession to the crown. Both of these Acts were boldly dealt with by the Cameronians in their own way, being publicly burnt by about fifty of them in the town of Lanark.

The more prominent incidents of this dark period of legalized wickedness are the six following:—

The Earl of Argyll (son of the Marquis of 1661) was allowed to take the Test thus as a Privy Councillor: "I take it, in as far as it is consistent with itself and the Protestant religion; and I do declare, I mean not to bind up myself, in my station and in a lawful way, to endeavour any alteration I think to the advantage of the Church or State, not repugnant to the Protestant religion and my loyalty." Yet after this he was tried and found guilty of high treason; but escaping from the Castle of Edinburgh, 20th December, 1681, fled to Holland. In 1685 he was apprehended and executed under the old sentence.

Alexander Hume of Hume in 1682 was executed for attending conventicles, his wife, on her bended knees, when interceding for him, receiving brutal repulse from the wife of the chancellor, the Earl of Perth.

Sir Hugh Campbell of Cessnock in 1684 was imprisoned in the Bass, and deprived of his estate. The very jury was insulted and threatened by Sir George Mackenzie for not finding him guilty, and for showing some satisfaction when a witness shrank from perjuring himself, and the prosecution broke down.

The Rev. William Carstares (afterwards Principal of the College of Edinburgh) in 1684 was subjected to the torture of the "thumbkins." When worn out by subsequent confinement, he

agreed to make certain disclosures, on receiving a promise from Government that nothing he said should be brought, directly or indirectly, against any man in trial. Yet this evidence, by the baseness of the Government, was not only at once published, but was used by Lord Advocate Mackenzie as "an adminicle of proof" against Baillie of Jerviswood.

Robert Baillie of Jerviswood (great-grandson of John Knox, and both nephew and son-in-law of Johnston of Warriston), was executed 24th December, 1684. He was apprehended in 1683, and the king and Duke of York were both present at his first trial before the Privy Council in London. In Edinburgh, at his subsequent trial, Sir G. Mackenzie, in reply to a reproach from the accused, had to confess his baseness thus: "Jerviswood, I own what you say. My thoughts there were as a private man; what I say here is by special direction of the Privy Council." "Well, my lord," said Jerviswood, "if you keep one conscience for yourself and another for the council, I pray God to forgive you—I do!" When he received sentence of death his words were: "My lords, the time is short, the sentence is sharp; but I thank my God, who hath made me as fit to die as you are to live." Since then there has been in Scotland no more honoured name and line than that of Baillie of Jerviswood.

Sir Patrick Hume of Polwarth was another of the doomed men of the period; but escaping from prison, he secreted himself in the family burial-vault at Polwarth church, till he was able to flee to the Continent, whence he returned at the Revolution, and afterwards earned a noble name as Earl of Marchmont.

Things went on in systematized ruin and legal murder year by year, conducted by Claverhouse in the field, and by "Bloody" Mackenzie in the capital. "It were endless," says a historian, "to chronicle every instance of oppression that occurred. The mind, in fact, turns away with loathing from the recital. Multitudes were ruinously fined; others were sent to the West Indies as slaves; others were hanged. Many, succumbing to these terrors, gave a reluctant attendance at church; others turned their eyes towards America as a place of refuge from their manifold wrongs."

In May, 1684, a new proscription-roll of nearly 2000 names

was published, revealing a cruelty in the Government suggestive of absolute madness or demoniacal possession, that dealt with Christian men as if they were wild beasts, to be exterminated by fire and sword. Need we wonder that this was replied to by the Society-men posting several notices, at kirk and market, that they had resolved to take the law into their own hands and avenge their sufferings on their inhuman persecutors? This "Apologetic Declaration" was resented in turn by the tyrants who acted in name of law: and it was in this mutual frenzy of parties that King Charles suddenly died in February, 1685.

The Duke of York, a professed Romanist, succeeded Charles, under the name of James VII. He published an Act of Indemnity; but it was not meant to include those who most needed it, and it was clogged by the condition of an oath of allegiance. Its hollow and superficial character was seen in the fact that the persecutions continued. Some of the most cruel and best known instances belong to this period, such as those of John Sempill of Dailly, John Brown of Priesthill, and Margaret Wilson and Widow M'Lauchlan, drowned in the Blednock by being tied to stakes within tide-mark.[1] This was the period when Dunnottar Castle was used as a State prison, after the prisons of Edinburgh could hold no more. Two hundred were confined in vaults, where they had to take their turn of a mouthful of fresh air from a crack in the ground. One hundred of them, after being branded with a hot iron, were shipped to America as slaves, but sixty died on the passage.

At length we come to the last of the martyrs, in 1688. In April, 1686, James began to propose to the servile Scots Parliament a plan for giving certain liberties to both Presbyterians and Papists; but they took alarm at the latter half of the plan, interpreting it as intended to promote a counter-reformation leading back to Rome. Next year the king passed an Act without consent of Parliament, and even removed from office Alexander Cairncross, archbishop of Glasgow, and Andrew Bruce, bishop of Dunkeld, who had opposed his plan. Bishop Atkin of Gal-

[1] An impudent attempt was made by Mr. Mark Napier, in his "Memorials of Dundee" and "Case for the Crown," to show that the Wigtown martyrs were a myth and calumny. But Dr. Stewart of Glasserton, in his "History Vindicated in the Case of the Wigtown Martyrs," taught this rash apologist of prelacy a lesson.

loway, who had also resisted, died before punishment could reach him. Bishop Ramsay of Ross also narrowly escaped trouble for the same cause.[1] The moderate Presbyterians made use of this toleration, and even wrote to the king a letter of gratitude; but the Cameronian party scorned all favours, and continued defiantly in the field—suffering, however, in the person of their chief preacher, James Renwick, who was captured, and in February, 1688, executed, being happily the last of our martyrs.

The memory of these sorrowful and scandalous times has been specially preserved for the common people by three books, remarkable more for facts and fervour than for grace of style. The first edition of "The Scots Worthies," by John Howie of Lochgoin—containing seventy-two biographies, from Patrick Hamilton to James Renwick—was in 1775. Of the seventy-two biographies only five belong to the period preceding James VI., so that the series is equivalent to a biographical history of the Church during the three Stuart kings who successively troubled our Zion. And the biographical form has some peculiar advantages due to men who counted not their lives dear unto them. "Naphtali" and the "Cloud of Witnesses," containing the "Last Words and Dying Testimonies of the Worthies," date from 1668 and 1714. The main and fullest authority is Robert Wodrow, minister of Eastwood, who from 1707 to 1721 laboured on his "History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland from the Restoration to the Revolution."

A striking feature of one group of writers on Scottish Church history is their vehemence and persistency of attack on old Wodrow as a collector of silly gossip, a dealer in cheap miracles, a believer in witches, an exaggerator or inventor of bloody incidents, a man of mean abilities. So goes the battery of Lawson, Mark Napier, Michael Russell, Grub, and others. The real *scandalum magnatum* of Wodrow is his herculean industry in copying so many documents, collecting so many facts, and presenting the history from 1660 to 1688 so touchingly, that his sturdy book forms an insuperable barrier to the Anglicizers of Scotland, by showing why Prelacy has been so marvellously suspected and hated by our nation.

[1] Wodrow, "Sufferings," iv. 365.

The conclusion of the "Scots Worthies" gives this summary:—"During the twenty-eight years of persecution in Scotland, above 18,000, according to calculation, suffered death or the utmost hardships and extremities. Of these 1700 were shipped to the plantations, besides 750 who were banished to the northern islands, of whom 200 were wilfully murdered. Those who suffered by imprisonment, confinement, and other cruelties of this nature, were computed at or about 3600, including 800 who were outlawed, and 55 who were sentenced to be executed when apprehended. Those killed in several skirmishes or on surprise, and those who died of their wounds on such occasions, were reckoned to be 680. Those who went into voluntary banishment were calculated at 7000. About 498 were murdered in cold blood, without process of law, besides 362 who were by form of law executed. The number of those who perished through cold, hunger, and other distresses contracted in their flight to the mountains, and who sometimes, even when on the point of death, were murdered by the bloody soldiers, cannot well be calculated, but will certainly make up the number above specified. Yet, like the Lord's Church and people of old while in Egypt, the more they were oppressed the more they grew—the blood of the martyrs being always the seed of the Church. Yea, to the honour of truth and the praise of that God whom they served, they were so far from being spent, wasted, or eradicated, that at the Revolution they could raise a regiment in one day, without beat of drum, the ancient motto of the Church of Scotland, *Nec tamen consumebatur*, being verified now as evidently as ever."

The policy of tolerating Popery in England as well as Scotland alienated the English Church from the king, and led many to think of his deposition. This party entered into correspondence with William, Prince of Orange, the Stadtholder of Holland, who had married James's eldest daughter, and was a stanch Protestant. Misgovernment had gone so far, and distrust and hatred of James were so wide and deep, that William had only to show himself to be welcomed. He landed his troops at Torbay on the 5th of November, 1688; and in a few weeks the Romanizing tyrant and plotter was a fugitive, suffering for his own sins, and the sins of his brother, and his dynasty.

Wonderful for suddenness and completeness was the change that came with the Revolution of 1688. The doctrine of divine right of kings, that had been so disastrous in results to Scotland since the days of James VI., was now cast to the winds. The principles both of Church and State contended for by the persecuted Presbyterians were absolutely the basis of the new system, so far as Scotland was concerned. The apparently wildest doctrine of the Cameronians as to the practical forfeiture of the crown by both Charles and James, was ratified by the Parliaments of both nations, and is embedded in the British Constitution to this day.

Though persecution was ended, it took some time before matters in Scotland could be settled in legal form. Meanwhile the people righted for themselves in a few days the wrongs of a persecuted generation. William had landed at Torbay only on 5th November; and on Christmas Day the oppressed peasantry, especially the more violent but also ill-used Cameronian section of the west of Scotland, began a system of local mobs, called "rabblings," whereby they got rid of above 200 of the subservient and alien curates, who had in so many cases brought fines, exile, and death on their own parishioners, by playing the base part of spies and informers. But there is another side to this picture no less true: these curates and their distressed families, for many years subsequently, received frequent help from Presbyterian ministers and Presbyterian church courts.

In July, 1689, Episcopacy was abolished by Parliament, and in April, 1690, Presbytery was re-established—the legislature reviving the Act of 1592, and summoning a General Assembly. On 16th October, 1690, accordingly, an Assembly, consisting of 180 members, met—being the first for forty years.

Speaking of this great national deliverance, Hallam, the most judicial and dispassionate of English historians, says: "There was as clear a case of forfeiture in the Scots Episcopal Church as in the royal family of Stuart. . . . It was very possible that Episcopacy might be of apostolical institution; but for this institution houses had been burned and fields laid waste, and the Gospel had been preached in wildernesses, and its ministers had been shot in their prayers, and husbands had been murdered before their wives, and virgins had been defiled, and many had

died by the executioner and by massacre and imprisonment, and in exile and slavery, and women had been tied to stakes on the seashore till the tide rose to overflow them, and some had been tortured and mutilated: it was a religion of the boots and the thumb-screw, which a good man must be very cool-blooded indeed, if he did not hate and reject from the hands that offered it. For, after all, it is much more certain that the Supreme Being abhors cruelty and persecution, than that He has set up bishops to have a superiority over presbyters."

The nation having thus at last got its own will, and being left without serious arbitrary interference, those struggles that had been so frequent and disastrous, from the first enforced Episcopacy in the regency of Morton to the last enforced Episcopacy under Charles and James, ceased. The violent introduction, time after time, of this form of government against the clear and strong wish of the Scottish nation, has only tended to make our system of Presbytery more sharply defined, and to prejudice us unduly against Episcopacy in its better and milder aspect, as represented by men like Leighton, Ussher, and Burnet. The Presbytery of 1688 was narrowed by controversy and persecution, as compared with the Presbytery of 1596, of which Principal Lee says: "Till the year 1596 the prosperity and influence of the Church continued undiminished. To this period all true Presbyterians look back as the era of the greatest purity which this National Church attained."

We are indebted to Principal Lee for one of the best vindications we possess of the *literary* character of the Covenanters. He says:—

"No tolerable account of the Scottish Covenanters has ever been published in an extended form, and our National Church ought to feel deeply indebted to any writer of ability who shall supply this vast desideratum in her history. With scarcely an exception the Covenanters had been trained to the habit of disputation from their tenderest years; and at every stage of their lives they were familiar with scenes of contention. After having completed the usual academical course, many of the ablest of their number acted as regents in colleges; and in this capacity they could scarcely fail to acquire a turn for wrangling, and to gain a facility of utterance by the practice of teaching the Aristotelian logic and presiding in the daily examination of the students. Thus Alexander Henderson, Robert Blair, David Dickson, Samuel Rutherford, James Wood, David Forrest, Hugh Binning, James Guthrie, Robert M'Ward, and several others (of whom the small

wits of the succeeding age were accustomed to speak so scornfully), had, at a very early age, signalized themselves as professors of philosophy and the liberal arts, and had been universally acknowledged to be men of no ordinary talents and acquirements. . . . A distinction ought, indeed, to be made between the earlier Covenanters, whose education had been completed before the constitution of their Church was overturned, and those who did not enter on their vocation till the time of trouble overtook them. But even of those who grew up under the shade of persecution, and whose minds were nurtured amidst alarms and strifes and perils, which rendered it impossible for them to pursue a regular train of study, it has been affirmed that they were men of no mean endowments, and that though their stock of learning was but scanty they acquired an uncommon degree of shrewdness in the discernment of character and in tracing the connection of events (whence arose the popular belief of their prophetical gifts), while at the same time they became masters of a powerful and impassioned eloquence, to which, though it violated many of the established canons of criticism, it was not possible to listen without being deeply moved."[1]

Lord Moncrieff works out the same idea in another direction:—

"The Covenanters have generally been looked upon as a somewhat uneducated, rude, fanatical body of the lower orders, and people seem to contrast them with the better birth and better manners of the Royalists. I believe there is in all this a very great delusion. It is true that, in the latter part of this period of twenty years, most of the higher families had ostensibly, if not sincerely, conformed to the tyrannical government which they could not resist. But the inception of the Covenanters embraced the largest portion of the upper ranks and the whole body of the people. Whatever of birth, of culture, of manners, and of learning or intellectual power Scotland could boast, was at that time unquestionably to be found in the ranks of the Covenanters. The following list of the Scottish peers who were, as ruling elders, included among the members of the Commission of the General Assembly in 1647, corroborates my statement: Archibald, marquis of Argyll; John, earl of Crawford; Alexander, earl of Eglinton; William, earl of Glencairne; John, earl of Cassilis; James, earl of Home; James, earl of Tullibardine; Francis, earl of Buccleugh; John, earl of Lauderdaill; William, earl of Lothian; James, earl of Finlatour; William, earl of Lanark; James, earl of Callendar; Archibald, lord Angus; George, lord Birchen; John, lord Yester; John, lord Balmerino; James, lord Cowper; John, lord Bargany."[2]

To these vindications another may be added, bearing on the proportion of Presbyterians in Scotland to Episcopalians at the date of the Revolution:—

"If, under the kings of the house of Stuart, when a Presbyterian was excluded from political power and from the learned professions, was daily annoyed by informers, by tyrannical magistrates, by licentious dragoons, and was in danger of being hanged if he heard a sermon in the open air, the

[1] "History of the Church of Scotland," Lect. xxiii. [2] Lecture on "Church and State."

population of Scotland was not very unequally divided between Episcopalians and Presbyterians, the rational inference is that more than nineteen-twentieths of those Scotchmen whose conscience was interested in the matter were Presbyterian, and that not one Scotchman in twenty was decidedly and on conviction an Episcopalian."[1]

Looking back on the struggles of the reigns of Charles I. and Charles II., we see a total failure of the attempts to plant Episcopacy by force of royal prerogative apart from the wishes of the people, and apart even from the fair working of Parliament. Besides being a failure in attainment, the attempts ended in the subversion of the throne and the modification of the constitution, by limiting the prerogative so as to stop such efforts for the future. At the end of the struggle in 1688, the aim that had cost so much deception, impoverishment, and blood, was more remote than it was in 1625 when Charles I. came to the throne, and still more remote than it was in 1572, before James had begun his earliest effort in the same direction. At first Presbytery was not defended as a strictly scriptural system; nor was parity a recognized principle of our Reformed Church. It was only when men had been cheated, fined, banished, hanged, guillotined, and shot during three reigns, that the original system of our Church government and worship, with its superintendents and Book of Common Order, was narrowed down to a novel basis of parity and extempore prayers, in favour of which the New Testament was foolishly misquoted; and Prelacy came to be regarded with bitter national hatred.

The main lines of the struggle on behalf of our original Reformed Church were unquestionably right, being a contention for national and ecclesiastical independence, for the rights of the people and of the Scots Parliament, as against royal prerogative and a Secret Council. But as the duel grew hotter on the side of royalty, acting lawlessly not only through the Secret Council but through even more arbitrary Courts of High Commission, so the heat of the people increased correspondingly; and the National Covenant, which had been at first justifiable, became in five short years emphatically the reverse (except as a last resort under provocation), the Solemn League and Covenant appearing essentially disloyal and persecuting when now analyzed, in times of peace.

[1] Macaulay, "History," chapter xiii.

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